

Language as an aspect of transformation at a Stellenbosch University Residence

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Declaration

By Submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner therefore (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

After 2002, South African higher education institutions were compelled to establish new policies according to the Language Policy for Higher Education. In order to be inclusive of students and staff members from all racial, cultural and language backgrounds, Stellenbosch University developed and implemented several language policies and plans. The effect of these policies has been a gradual shift from Afrikaans to English as the dominant priority language of teaching, and the status of Afrikaans has consequently declined. These policies were primarily focused on transformation in the classroom. However, little is known about the influences of the language policies on the out-of-classroom experiences of students. This study therefore examines language as an aspect of transformation at Helshoogte residence, a traditionally Afrikaans residence at Stellenbosch University. The residence placement policy has guided transformation and diversity management in residential spaces. This policy is therefore also explored. At Stellenbosch University, residences are critical structural components of institutional culture. By conducting semi-structured interviews and observations, the experiences of predominantly black students were used to assess how they experience transformation in a historically white residence. There are structural patterns that persist and maintain English and Afrikaans as the dominant forms of cultural capital in the residence. Residences are transforming quantitatively, but issues of residence culture persist, which exclude black students and compel them to assimilate or be marginalized.

Opsomming

Na 2002, as gevolg van die Nasionale Taalbeleid vir Hoër Onderwys, was Suid-Afrikaanse instellings vir hoër onderwys verplig om nuwe beleid in te stel. Ten einde studente en personeellede van alle rasse-, kulturele en taalagtergronde in te sluit, het die Universiteit Stellenbosch verskeie taalbeleide en planne ontwikkel en geïmplementeer. Die uitwerking van hierdie beleidsrigtings was 'n geleidelike verskuiwing van Afrikaans na Engels as die dominante onderrigtaal. Die status van Afrikaans het gevolglik afgeneem. Hierdie beleid was hoofsaaklik gefokus op transformasie in die klaskamer. Daar is egter min geskryf oor die invloed van die taalbeleid op die buite-klaskamer-ervarings van studente. Hierdie studie ondersoek dus taal as 'n aspek van transformasie by die Helshoogte-koshuis, 'n tradisioneel Afrikaanse koshuis aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch. Die koshuisplasingbeleid het transformasie en diversiteitsbestuur in koshuisruimtes gestruktureer. Hierdie beleid word dus ook ondersoek. Aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch is koshuise belangrikestrukturele komponente van die institusionele kultuur. Deur middel van semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude

en waarnemings, is die ervarings van oorwegend swart studente gebruik om te assesser hoe hulle transformasie in 'n historiese blanke koshuis ervaar. Daar is strukturele patrone wat Engels en Afrikaans as die dominante vorme van kulturele kapitaal in die koshuis handhaaf. Koshuise verander kwantitatief, maar kwessies rakende koshuiskultuur duur voort, wat swart studente uitsluit en hulle dwing om te assimileer of gemarginaliseer te word.

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List of Abbreviations

BRUT	Broederskap Respek Uitnemendheid Trots (translated: Brotherhood Respect Excellence Pride)
HAUs	Historically Afrikaans Universities
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HWUs	Historically White Universities
HK	Huis Kommittee (translated into House Committee)
NP	National Party
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
PSO	Private Student Organisation
SU	Stellenbosch University

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale

After 1994, when the new democratic government was elected, transformation became the primary focus in higher education. Previously racially segregated institutions, particularly historically white universities (HWUs), needed to adhere to the demands of the new government by increasing the diversity profile to be more representative of the South African population. As the idea of transforming higher education developed, it was deemed critical to focus on Historically Afrikaans Universities (HAUs). The research is motivated by a concern to understand and engage with “transformation” at Stellenbosch University (SU), the oldest HAU in South Africa. The diversity profile of SU, was not always constituted by students from different racial, ethnic and language backgrounds. In 1918, when Stellenbosch University was established, it was entirely comprised of white students with influences from English, Dutch and Afrikaans backgrounds. In recent times however, the population of students in SU has become “diverse”, meaning that there are students from different racial, cultural and language backgrounds.

In HAUs across South Africa, understandings of transformation and diversity are continuously questioned and critiqued with the objective of producing institutions that represent the student population in South Africa; that is equal and inclusive of black students who come from previously disadvantaged backgrounds. Looking at the current demographics in Stellenbosch University, the contact between the diverse student population specifically in terms of race and language, has a direct influence on the decline of Afrikaans language and the institutional culture created by white students. By engaging with students, this research explores how they construct and experience university, particularly residence life.

This chapter examines how transformation in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) is perceived following decades of immense inequality in education and the broader South African society. This comes at a time when transformation has focused on social justice in South Africa higher education. In previous white only institutions including Stellenbosch University, the legacy of apartheid still lingers in its hallways. This is often reflected by reported racial incidences in residences, events, culture and sports that are reminders of the lack of inclusivity and inequality that persists in university and university residences.

1.1.1 Evaluating transformation and diversity

Almost thirty years since the first democratic elections in South Africa, many scholars assert that the pace of transformation in higher education is slow (Cross & Johnson, 2008; Steyn & Van Zyl, 2001 cited in Pattman & Carolissen, 2018: 2). Concerns about the slow pace of transformation in South Africa were further highlighted in *The Soudien Report* which sets out to investigate social cohesion in South African Universities. The investigation authorised by the Minister of Education, follows an incident that took place in 2007 in a student residence in the University of Free State. A student recorded the event and the detailed video went viral on social media, showing a group of white male students of the University of Free State – a HAU – initiating black cleaners by giving them food that was supposedly mixed with urine. Pattman and Carolissen (2018: 2), suggest that the video – now referred to as the “Reitz affair” - was made as an attack on the university’s attempt to introduce black students to the residence that had been all-white. This incident provoked outrage and consequently raised more awareness of racial discrimination in HAUs. Furthermore, the event ensured that spaces were created in many HAUs where students, staff and the public were encouraged to share their experiences and voice their displeasure with any institutional culture they felt was discriminatory and limited their access to resources that would increase their chances for success at university.

In conversations about higher education, transformation is mainly understood as a process of making the population of the student and staff representative of the general population of South Africa in terms of the racial categories (Black, White, Coloured, Indian, Asian) established by the apartheid government and re-institutionalised after 1994. The concerns I voice, that transformation requires continuous efforts to change not just the demographics but the culture that is embedded in a system of discrimination, exclusion and inequality is argued throughout this thesis. The increase in the diversity profile of students does not and should not simply mean transformation because it does not lead to social cohesion or meaningful and constructive social interaction. This research argues that social interactions are complex and important for transformation and in many cases not bound by race, but rather by unwritten rules of engagement which cannot be quantified.

In this chapter, I expand on understandings of transformation that informs my study and facilitates questions about what transformation means and how it is understood and lived in Stellenbosch University’s residence context. Also, the understandings of transformation, further engages discussions on language and interaction in student friendships. The value of language and social interaction in residences where students from diverse race, culture and language backgrounds live and share residential space is examined. In this chapter and the

chapters to follow, I explore language and interaction as an aspect of transformation in Stellenbosch University residences. This was achieved by examining the history of Stellenbosch University from its early Victoria College days during colonialism to its role during apartheid. Furthermore, by investigating the emergence of universities, this research engages with the development of Afrikaans in universities and the institutional culture created in HAUs including Stellenbosch University by Afrikaners.

1.1.2 Understanding transformation and diversity in Stellenbosch University

Stellenbosch University is one of the most popular and academically renowned universities in South Africa. Nonetheless, the history and involvement of Stellenbosch University during apartheid still echoes in the institution. In post-apartheid South Africa, the term ‘transformation’ is commonly used to explain the rapid changes in universities (Le Cordeur, 2015: 2). The term ‘transformation’ is used as a reference marker when addressing the unjust and discriminatory institutional structures and practices engineered by the apartheid government to benefit the minority white citizens during apartheid. The concern about transformation is therefore concern about institutional cultures that are performed through symbols, names, academic texts and languages that limit access for black and poor students (Pattman & Carolissen, 2018: 4).

Even so, it is necessary to engage and explore transformation not just as a diversity question, but rather as a matter of integration, social cohesion and constructive social interaction. Hence, to observe transformation simply as changes that involve the “addition” of more “black” students into the university, takes for granted social complexities and the role of language in university spaces, especially residences where students from diverse backgrounds live. Ideas taken for granted about language and transformation, takes away from the construction and lived experiences of students who are from dissimilar backgrounds and need language to navigate residential spaces. Therefore, a lack of understanding of language and interaction as an aspect of transformation, I suggest maintains a philosophy that promotes the hierarchy of cultures, which influences interaction, communication and information in residences. Several authors I draw on in this research including Oloyede, Pattman, Van der Waal and Hill in different ways, argue that language informs transformation and notably the importance of confronting the challenges associated with HAUs and their legacies so that an understanding and critical dialogue on the changing nature and purpose of universities is examined.

1.1.3 Why it is important to examine transformation in higher education

The unequal and segregated higher education in South Africa today is the consequence of apartheid (Van der Waal & Du Toit, 2018: 452). Before democracy in South Africa, racially classified “non-whites” were positioned in different socio-economic categories that sustained inequality. The systematic control over the entire population made it possible for the apartheid government to regulate education in South Africa. The manipulation of education during apartheid was the reason why people classified as black, coloured and Indian received inferior education. White citizens attended the “best” schools and universities and enjoyed access to resources other racial groups did not have. The inequality during apartheid affected every fabric of South African society and the effect is still present today. Transformation accordingly involves challenging the structures that created and sustained inequality in higher education institutions particularly at HAUs.

1.1.4 Higher education pre- and post-1994

The discussion of transformation in higher education is as a result of the racial discrimination and inequalities of the past that needed transforming to provide just and equal opportunities for all (Reddy, 2004: 36). It was the responsibility of the state to formulate new policies that challenged and fulfilled the requirement of higher education in the liberated South Africa. Documents including the Green Paper and White Paper on Higher Education, were introduced to help facilitate changes in restructuring higher education that no longer discriminates based on race, class, gender, age and language.

For South Africa, 1994 will always be known as the year of liberation, when transformation began. During this period, the newly elected government mandated universities with the task of bringing transformation to the country. Henceforth, higher education institutions were compelled to help the country overcome the history of racialised development since the transformation of higher education formed part of the broader process of South Africa’s political social and economic transition (Robertson, 2015: 2).

After the democratic elections in 1994, extreme changes in higher education were implemented to address the unequal structures created by the apartheid government. Presently, when examining higher education in South Africa, there are no longer racially designated universities as there were during apartheid, yet, racism, marginalisation and discrimination that shaped and influenced the legacy of apartheid persists in higher education institutions (Pattman &

Carolissen, 2018: 2). Reddy (2004: 36) argues, that access to higher education is easier for white students when compared to black, Indian and coloured.

1.1.5 Why focus on transformation in higher education

Transformation in South Africa's higher education made it possible for Historically White Universities to enrol "non-white" students and thus has made it possible for me to enrol at Stellenbosch University. My research interest is motivated by my experiences at Stellenbosch University. As a black Nigerian male, I have come to understand that transformation and diversity are not just measurable units, because by quantifying these concepts, attention is deflected from how these concepts are experienced and practised at different levels. Being Nigerian, I grew up in an environment that is in many ways different to South Africa.

Prior to enrolling at Stellenbosch University, I matriculated from Paul Roos Gymnasium, a high school located in Stellenbosch. When I arrived at the school in 2004, I immediately noticed that the majority of the students and staff in my school were white. There were no Nigerians in that school, thus I was compelled to make friends with South Africans. What was interesting was that some learners did not want to socialise with me because I was a black Nigerian and I could not speak any of the South African languages, except for English. My social circle was limited based on these two characteristics. As I could not change my skin colour, I learned to speak Afrikaans so that I could socialise and be "accepted" into a social group. It was apparent that the language I learned was completely influenced by the environment. Paul Roos Gymnasium is influenced by different aspects of Stellenbosch culture, especially the language. Upon entering Stellenbosch University, I immediately noticed that Paul Roos Gymnasium shared many similarities with Stellenbosch University. For example, the racial composition of students and staff members was predominately white and influenced by English, Dutch and subsequent Afrikaans culture.

These influences in Stellenbosch University were the result of South Africa's history of colonialism and apartheid. Nonetheless, in Stellenbosch University within the classroom environment there were more opportunities to socialise with people from different backgrounds, not just white students or Afrikaans speaking students, but also students from other nationalities. Through my years as a student in Stellenbosch, I noticed a significant increase in the number of black and foreign students enrolled at the university. What is interesting for me is that the changes in the racial diversity at Stellenbosch University did not lead to social cohesion and integration, especially in residences where there have been many reported cases of discrimination and marginalisation.

Transformation in Stellenbosch University is a gradual process especially when one looks at the diversity profile of students enrolled into SU. Figure 1 shows the number of enrolments by race between 2014 and 2018. What is significant in the graph is the decline in the percentage of white students that were enrolled between 2014 and 2018, while the percentage of students from other racial groups increased. Nonetheless, I hold the view that changing student demographics does not necessarily lead to open-mindedness or acceptance of students from different cultures or language backgrounds. According to Robertson (2015: 11), integration is not just about the tolerance of those considered as “others”, but about acceptance and meaningful friendships that manifest equity and equality.

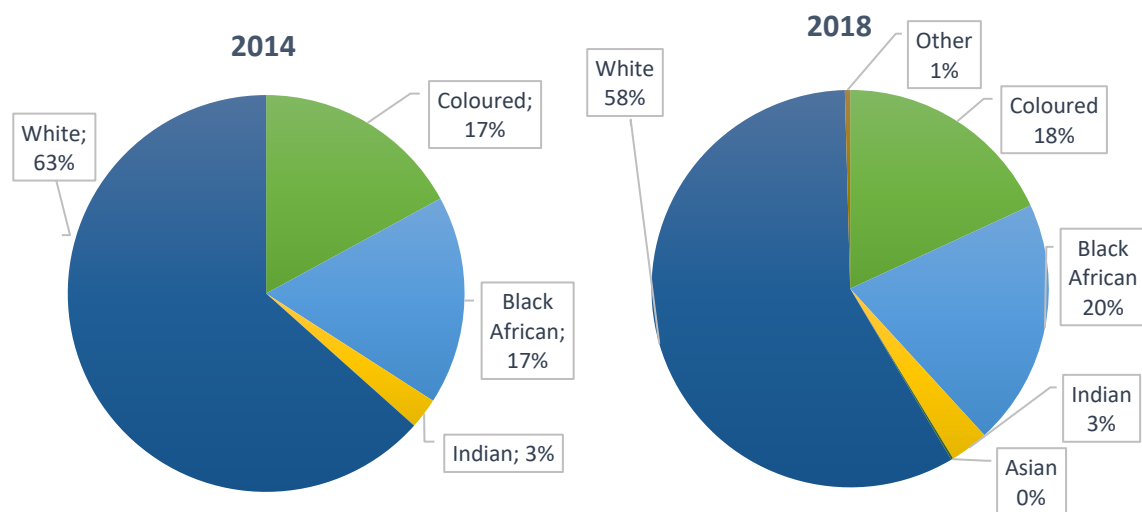


Figure 1: Total enrolments of students according to race from 2014-2018.

Source: Stellenbosch University (2018), labels were changed from Afrikaans to English.

Stellenbosch University is comprised of more than 30,000 students and 3,000 staff members from different cultures, races and language backgrounds. Nonetheless, for many years Afrikaans remained the primary language of instruction which prompted many students and staff who do not have Afrikaans in their repertoire, to raise concerns that in their experience Afrikaans posed a barrier that prevented them from accessing the same resources as those who had abilities in Afrikaans. To these students, language possibly limited their ability to fully actualise success at Stellenbosch University.

Stellenbosch University has been under immense pressure to transform especially with respect to the diversity profile of students and staff and the language policy and plan. This is because in the past the SU student demographic was predominantly white, and the language policy and plan assumed that students enrolled in the university would at least have some competence in English and Afrikaans. The impression created by the policy was that SU was not promoting a

welcoming environment for black students and seemed to only cater to English and Afrikaans speaking students.

Stellenbosch University has officially addressed diversity as a key aspect of transformation that will foster an environment of inclusivity. For this reason,

“Stellenbosch University (SU) is striving towards a welcoming campus culture that will make all students, staff and visitors feel at home, irrespective of origin, ethnicity, language, gender, religious and political conviction, social class, disability or sexual orientation. This includes creating a multicultural environment that enables a variety of cultures to meet and learn from one another” (Stellenbosch University, 2013a).

Stellenbosch University is criticised because the pace of transformation is apparently too slow. In recent language policy documents published by SU, the perception that Stellenbosch University is still an Afrikaans university where Afrikaners go to study is addressed. It is stated that Stellenbosch University “embraces everyone” regardless of their race, culture or language background. In recent statistics published by the university, it is indicated that Afrikaans is on a steady decline (Table 1).

Table 1: Enrolment of students at Stellenbosch University by home languages (Stellenbosch University, 2018).

Language	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]	[%]
<i>Afrikaans</i>	53.1	50.2	47.9	46.2	47.6	44.9	42.3	40.7	38.5	37.0
<i>Afr/Eng</i>	2.8	3.5	4.5	5.3	1.9	1.3	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.8
Total Afrikaans	55.8	53.8	52.4	51.5	49.5	46.2	43.4	41.6	39.2	37.8
<i>English</i>	36.7	37.1	37.1	37.1	37.8	40.8	44.2	46.1	47.4	47.8
<i>Xhosa</i>	1.7	2.2	2.5	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.9
<i>Other official SA languages</i>	2.6	3.4	4.0	4.3	5.0	5.1	5.3	5.4	5.8	6.4
<i>Other</i>	3.1	3.5	4.0	4.4	4.8	4.7	3.9	3.9	4.2	4.1
Total Non-Afrikaans	44.2	46.2	47.6	48.5	50.5	53.8	56.6	58.4	60.8	62.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Critics of the statistics published by the university argue that while there has been a decline in the number of Afrikaans speakers enrolled at Stellenbosch University, transformation and diversity cannot be reduced to measurable units but must also address individual experiences of transformation and diversity. The significant decline in the number of Afrikaans home language students according to SU is evidence that Stellenbosch University is not simply a place that Afrikaans students go. Using statistics to explain and measure diversity and transformation, takes attention away from concepts that cannot be measured including institutional culture, inclusivity, social cohesion and integration especially in residences.

1.1.6 Why I chose students and students in residence

Residences at Stellenbosch University play a significant role in creating an institutional culture through the various residence identities which are of symbolic value to universities. The first residences established in Stellenbosch University in 1918 were Wilgenhof for men and Harmonie for women (Heese, 2018: 17). These two gendered residences created a pattern for the rest of the residences to follow. As the number of students grew, more residences were built to accommodate them. The most recent statistics published in 2018 indicate that the total number of students enrolled in Stellenbosch University is 31,765 whereas 6,500 of those students are accommodated across 31 university residences. This seems to be a relatively small population compared to the number of students who do not live in residences. However, residences are central to student life and institutional culture; their influences on SU are noticeable through their songs, symbols and identity.

The values, norms, symbols and locations of each of the residences distinguish them from other residences. The different identities of the residences contribute towards creating an institutional culture which many perceive as an integral part of the university. To this day, access to residence at Stellenbosch University is still considered by many as a symbolic marker of a complete experience of student life. Which is why becoming a member of a residence at Stellenbosch University is considered a vital aspect of enjoying university. From the sports to the cultural activity students partake in, residences provide a platform where students from different backgrounds are encouraged to “unite” under a common identity.

The influences of Afrikaans at Stellenbosch University residences are of concern to many black students who find it difficult to adjust to the environment because of the cultures, values and norms of residences which they claim is influenced by dominant Afrikaans groups. During the early years of Stellenbosch University, it was not accepted for black and white students to live in the same residential space. Separate residences were developed for black students.

Presumably, racially established residences developed cultures that were informed by the students who lived in those residences. From the time when black and white students lived together in the same residence, regular mixing of students from different racial, cultural and language backgrounds occurred. For many students, residences create a sense of home away from home, thus it is important that they feel welcomed and included in the culture and identity of that residence. In addition, many students believe that only by belonging and identifying with a residence they can truly experience the complete student life that forms part of the institutional culture.

The culture and identity of Stellenbosch University is influenced by the students. HAUs were urged to transform and at Stellenbosch University a revised residence placement policy that aims to increase the diversity of the student population in residences was developed. Jansen (2004, cited in Robertson 2015: 14) notes that many white Afrikaans speaking students apply for a residence based on their preconceived ideas of what residences and university life should be because of the influences of previous generations. Their decision to apply for a residence is therefore influenced by stories of happiness of belonging to a community and experiences of initiation processes that form part of the institutional culture.

A problem that arises for such expectations is that upon arriving to Stellenbosch University, they quickly realise that the space is multicultural and diverse in many forms. They are not met with the stories that they were told of – a space that is dominated by one culture and one language. On the other hand, when black students get to Stellenbosch University, they come to the realisation that many of the stories they were told about the space is no longer true. The ratio of white students to black students in Stellenbosch University does not reflect the student demographic of South Africa. Yet, over the years, Stellenbosch University has changed drastically in terms of the diversity profile of the institution.

An institutional culture that is defined by a specific race or language, makes it difficult for other social collectives to adequately assimilate in that environment. In Stellenbosch University, where for many years white students and Afrikaans speakers had been the major cultural influencers, black, coloured and Indian students voiced their frustrations on language at SU, particularly in 2015 and 2016 during the #feesmustfall and Open Stellenbosch protests. The student movement advocated for inclusivity and access for previously disadvantaged students. They argued that the use of Afrikaans in the classroom and in some levels of administration is on the decline, yet, in social spaces including residences, Afrikaans was dominant. They did not feel included in the residence structure based on the language. Their concerns suggested that the transformation, diversity and policy changes, did not translate into social cohesion

among the student population. Consequently, more attention needs to be directed at addressing an institutional culture that is discriminatory and engrained in the symbols, sports activities and language of Stellenbosch University.

Besides the activities in residences including sports and cultural activities, the language used in residences – in terms of what is said, who is saying and the meaning behind what they are saying – can facilitate or hinder social cohesion. Language is an important part of any social interaction. It is through language that people communicate and make sense of their social realities particularly in residences where students take on an identity of that residence. Residences at Stellenbosch University are comprised of students from various backgrounds, thus multilingualism is a prominent aspect of residence life. How communication is observed in residences depends on the networks of interactions between the language speakers who reside in that residence.

1.2 Problem statement

Every year, thousands of students wanting to further their education, apply to universities across South Africa. The process of choosing a university is based on many factors including finances, proximity and interest. Students who apply and are accepted into Stellenbosch University can further apply to stay in a university accommodation. Accommodation is either male, female or co-ed (mixed gendered residence), as well as private housing which is usually not near the centre of SU's main campus. At Stellenbosch University, there are traditional male residences and traditional female residences and placement in these residences are gender specific. There are also mixed gender specific residences and Private Student Organisations (PSOs).

The number of students that are accepted into Stellenbosch University depends on availability of space to accommodate the new students. Since 1994 when South Africa had its first democratic elections after apartheid, HAUs including Stellenbosch University, have needed to adjust their structures and policies to align with the transformation goals of the new government. This also means including individuals who during apartheid were categorised as “non-white” and were forced to attend segregated institutions. This means that every year, Stellenbosch University would admit a certain percentage of black students because of their commitment to transform the student profile in order to reflect and acknowledge diversity in South Africa.

Diversity at Stellenbosch University means that there are students from all sorts of backgrounds including different language backgrounds. With them, the students bring different way of

appropriating spaces as well as different language repertoires. Students classified as black, coloured or Indian, often come from different schools that have a different culture to the school white students might attend. Also, their family orientations differ and perhaps speak different home languages, which influences how they appropriate certain spaces with their language skills.

As a result of their family backgrounds, home languages, different schools they attended, and their friendship circles in school, some students entering Stellenbosch University often find it difficult to embrace the “other”. This is observed on campus where students prefer interacting with other students from the same race and or similar language orientation. One writer observed that white Afrikaans speaking students preferred engaging with white Afrikaans speaking students because they can identify with the language and the culture of Afrikaans and had a common interest in rugby; whilst black students black students engaged with each other based on their similar experiences of discrimination and oppression (Vergnani, 2000).

After the first democratic elections in 1994, higher education in South Africa underwent massive changes. As part of the effort to transform higher education, HAUs were restructured to include previously disadvantaged students – many residences in HAUs were still segregated. In her research, Vergnani (2000) noted that there were some cases where white students living in residences in a historically Afrikaans male residence did not want to live with black students which caused what she called “white flight” (white students vacated residences and moved into private accommodation to avoid living with or next to black students) to occur.

Before the democratic election in 1994, racism was formally established and individuals from dissimilar racial backgrounds were not allowed to live in the same areas and were forced to attend separate higher education institutions. Since the democratically elected government, universities continuously transformed to address and ensure that the disparities of the past do not repeat itself especially in HAU, including Stellenbosch University where this research is conducted.

1.2.1 Research questions

The objective of this study is to explore language as an aspect of transformation in a Stellenbosch University residence. Transformation has become a buzzword used loosely in many discussions at SU, which is aimed at addressing an institutional culture that is argued to be influenced by white English and Afrikaans students. Thus, transformation in residences is worth examining as it focuses on spaces where students spend a considerable amount of their

time during their university career with students from different backgrounds. The following conceptual questions were posed with regards to how language is framed in relation to transformation in residences, using Helshoogte residence as a case study:

- How is Helshoogte positioned in the wider Stellenbosch residential space?
- How do the language and residence placement policies affect transformation in Helshoogte?
- What languages are used in different contexts of communication in Helshoogte?
- How does language, used in social interactions, affect transformation in Helshoogte?

1.3 Research design and methods

Residences are important because they are partly responsible for the institutional culture in universities. In Stellenbosch University students are housed in official residential buildings and each residence has its own identity that becomes an important aspect of experiencing and navigating university spaces. Residences in SU are comprised of students from dissimilar backgrounds, for this reason, I explored transformation in a historically Afrikaans residence to examine how students from diverse backgrounds experience the space. I have used Helshoogte, a prominent male Afrikaans residence at Stellenbosch University, as the research field. Helshoogte is a historically Afrikaans and previously white-only male residence located on the central block of the main campus area. The residence like many residences in Stellenbosch University was built during apartheid when black students were not permitted to attend the same institutions as white students, let alone live in the same buildings. As the apartheid era came to an end, historically Afrikaans universities were urged to transform and be more inclusive and diverse. The transformation of historically Afrikaans universities meant that student residences had to transform to include previously disadvantaged students, thus historically white residences were forced to diversify and include black students.

Students at Stellenbosch University differ from students from other historically Afrikaans universities because SU presents a unique context which will have different understandings of transformation. However, although SU has embraced multiculturalism and multilingualism through changing the residence placement policy and language policy to be more accommodative and inclusive of black students and students who do not have Afrikaans in their repertoire, residential spaces are still dominated by an institutional culture that is discriminatory.

The study uses Helshoogte as a case to develop an understanding of residences at Stellenbosch University. By doing some observation, I explored Helshoogte to observe the structures and how the students I encountered used the space for interaction. In addition, the objective of the observation was to see who has access to various spaces, the friendship dynamics, how they socialised and since the residence is an amalgamation of different cultures, races and languages, I was looking to see how languages were used in the residence. In the observation, I sought to note how language was used to inform transformation in Helshoogte a historically Afrikaans male residence.

Helshoogte male residence is a prominent residence on the main campus at Stellenbosch University. Examining the geographical location of residences on the main campus at Stellenbosch University, Helshoogte forms part of the core spaces. The residence core refers to the residences that are situated at the centre of the main campus, in close proximity to administrative buildings and Neelsie the student centre. The areas in the core are regarded as the safest and easily accessible residences. Observing Helshoogte which forms part of the residence core provides another perspective to examine how students live and experience the space. To establish the narrative that informed this research, semi-structured interviews were employed. Chapter 4 and 5 engage the data and provides a concluding analysis of the data and observation.

In addition, this research examines Stellenbosch University's language policy as well as the residence placement policy. These documents contributed to understanding and further exploring the university's institutional culture including how students interact with and navigate the residence space, socialise and construct their existence. The participants in the study consist of students as well as staff members from Stellenbosch University. By interviewing staff, I gained insight into the process of placing students in residences and how these processes inform the experience of students that were interviewed for this research. It was important that students be included in the study because their experiences and how they construct their university existence reflects the effects of the language and residence placement policies.

1.3.1 Selecting participants

Since transformation at Stellenbosch University is a continuous process aimed at addressing discrimination caused by a system that prevented BCI students from studying in SU, students are an important aspect of the study. The students in the study are affiliates of Helshoogte and are currently residing in Helshoogte or resided in the residence when they were students. As a previous member of the leadership structure of residences in Stellenbosch University, I joined

leaders from other residences to discuss issues in our communities and how we could work together to solve them. As leaders of various student communities, we were tasked with challenging structures that marginalised students. We identified that in spaces outside the classroom, particularly in residences students did not feel welcomed. During my stay in the residence, I observed that the residences was comprised of separate individual groups that were formed by homogenous characteristics such as race. Since I had previously lived in Helshoogte for a short while, I decided to use the residence as a research field. I used my knowledge of individuals in the network to liaise with persons who were either part of the residence or were still members of the residence. Once I had a participant who was willing to take part in the study, I inquired whether there were other individuals who would be interested in the study. The rest of the participants obtained for the study were therefore referrals from individuals who had participated in the study. I contacted them through email. Once contact was established, it was easy to communicate with them to schedule a time and place to meet.

Interviews from staff members were selected because of their positions and their knowledge about the language or residence placement policies at Stellenbosch University. I gained access to their information from browsing through different Stellenbosch universities webpages until I found persons I thought were important for the study. I thought these individuals were important because of their positions in the University and their involvement in transformation discourses at Stellenbosch University. I emailed them explaining the study and asked if they would be interested in taking part in the study. I listed the willing participants down and arranged a place and time when we could conduct the interview.

1.3.2 Data collection

The data for this research was obtained by conducting research involving semi-structured interviews with the participants and analysing the language and residence placement documents. In the interview with the participants, I asked questions that elicited thought-provoking responses. Accordingly, the semi-structured interviews provided a platform for the participants to share their knowledge and concerns.

On the day of the interview, I arrived at the meeting location ten minutes before the time to make sure that the location was still available and to give me time to prepare for the interviews. I started all interviews with a detailed introduction and purpose of the study as well. I also explained that the participation is voluntarily and that they could withdraw from this study at any point. Once I had received permission from the participants, all interviews were recorded with an audio device, I also informed them that I will be taking notes in case there were ideas

and links that emerged during the interview process. The introduction was followed by questions about backgrounds, discussing their reasons for applying for residence. They were also asked about their home languages and what their concerns about the formal languages of the university are. I also asked them about their social networks and what languages they used to communicate within their networks as well as in the residence. After one of the interviews, I asked if I could observe the space during normal daily interactions with the participant's social networks in the residence. I followed the participant into the residence and acted as a friend who was just visiting while still bearing in mind that my purpose for entering the space was to observe the space and gain knowledge about how the participant interacted with people in the space. I understood my presence might make the participant act differently so I tried as much as possible not to interfere with the social processes.

The administrative participants were asked questions relating to the formation and implementation of the language and residence placement policies and how these documents facilitate transformation according to the transformation goals of Stellenbosch University. The analysis and results of the data collection will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

1.3.3 Ethical considerations

Although it was highlighted in the consent form that the participants received, I also verbally assured them that the study was completely voluntary, and whatever information they provided was confidential. To address the issues of confidentiality and anonymity, the participants are given pseudonyms. The students voiced their concerns that they did not want to be identified in the study because they did not want to be misunderstood by people who do not know the context from which their answers arise. It was important that I took their concerns for remaining anonymous seriously because as a researcher it is important that the study does not cause harm to the participants in any way. Since the study used a residence and the residence is identifiable, it was important that I refrained from using any identifiers including personal information that might identify the participants.

1.3.4 Limitations

One of the issues I encountered doing this research was that I was not able to use some documents that I would have liked to. Many of the documents specifically some historical documents that deal with the emergence of Stellenbosch university from its years as a college, were in Dutch or early Afrikaans. Since I have a weak command of Afrikaans in my repertoire,

it was difficult to understand and translate some of the documents which meant that I was losing out on information that would have otherwise been interesting to include in the study.

1.4 Chapter outline

After the introduction to this thesis, chapter 2 establishes a historical context for higher education in South Africa providing a lens to discuss the emergence of Stellenbosch University. The early history of Stellenbosch University develops a frame for engaging language and residences. Furthermore, a taxonomy of residences at Stellenbosch University is provided which can be traced back to the first male (Wilgenhof) and female (Harmonie) residences. The residence taxonomy engages different aspects of residences and the broader Stellenbosch University student organisations. This chapter also discusses theories from various authors including Hymes' definition of repertoire, Allport's contact theory and Bourdieu's theory on cultural capital to provide an understanding of language and interactions among students in residences and how this informs transformation (Allport, 1954; Bourdieu, 1986; Hymes, 1996).

Having provided the fundamentals, chapter 3 investigates the policy documents on language and residence placement at Stellenbosch University. These documents are analysed and used to discuss the implications of the policies with respect to the transformation and diversity aims of Stellenbosch University. Examining these documents provides a narrative on the ongoing changes at Stellenbosch University. In addition, these documents are investigated to understand language and residence structures and how the implemented changes are measured particularly beyond the classroom.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the interviews conducted with the students living in Helshoogte men's residence, and when necessary draws on responses from staff participants. The different responses are used to establish a narrative that engages different participants' opinions. Furthermore, an observation of the space was used to develop and gain deeper understanding of residences as a part of the institutional culture at Stellenbosch University.

Chapter 5 provides a concluding analysis of the study. In this chapter I discuss how future conversations on transformation and diversity can develop. Furthermore, this chapter also discusses what I achieved and learned in the research process and suggests avenues for future research.

Chapter 2: Framing language and residential spaces at Stellenbosch: A historically Afrikaans university

2.1 Introduction

Higher education in South Africa has a long history that originates from the migration of the British and Dutch to the Cape Colony. This chapter traces the emergence of the higher education system that exists in South Africa today. This is achieved by providing a brief historical account of the British and Dutch influences in education in the Cape Colony. Higher education in South Africa originates from the need to provide a structure that examined students in English in a system based on the University of London. Presenting a brief historical overview of higher education in South Africa helps explain the emergence of HAU, including Stellenbosch University which is the focus area of the study.

Stellenbosch University is the oldest Afrikaans university in South Africa, thus it is necessary to engage with the early history to develop an understanding of language structures in the institution. Developing a historical narrative of SU allows for an exploration of the influences of Afrikaans and English. This will allow the institutional culture to be examined and critiqued using theoretical concepts including repertoire, contact theory and critical race theory.

There are a lot of debates that focus on the influences of white Afrikaans and English students at SU. The most recent debate “taaldebat” contests Afrikaans as the primary medium at SU. Following the debate, questions of access and right to spaces are explored with the objective of dismantling cultures and practices that marginalise black students who come from previously disadvantaged backgrounds. The history of Stellenbosch University is tainted with racism, exclusion and marginalisation hence it is necessary to investigate transformation and how the processes of transformation have facilitated new ways of thinking and practices that aim to challenge traditions and practices, particularly in Stellenbosch University residences.

Residences are important spaces for social interaction for students who come from dissimilar backgrounds. The theoretical concepts: “cultural capital”, “repertoire”, “contact theory” and “critical race theory” form a framework for understanding residential spaces. Historically black people were previously disadvantaged and were marginalised and excluded from higher education in South Africa. In recent times however, HAUs have been instructed to transform their policies to ensure that previously disadvantaged students are included and embraced in the institutional structures.

2.2. Brief historical overview of higher education and Stellenbosch

2.2.1 Emergence of universities

The origins of the South African university system can be traced back to the nineteenth century when the British seized control in the former Dutch Cape Colony. The institutional and cultural effect of the British during this period influenced the emergence of universities or the South African modern university system. For Hill (2008) the British institutions in areas around the Cape colony, especially the University of the Cape of Good Hope, formed the setup for the subsequent national higher education framework that emerged in South Africa.

The administrative control of the British over the Cape prompted a perceived need to introduce an education system that they could relate to, hence they established schools in areas under their control, and used the Board Public Examiners in Literature and Science (BPELS) to provide a structure for accreditation (Hill, 2009: 333). The BPELS was replaced in 1873 when the first University– University of the Cape of Good Hope – was established and the following year, a new act was approved that made provision for tertiary education at the “elite” schools established by the British (Hill, 2009: 334). The role of these designated “colleges” was to prepare students in English to take the examinations of the newly established university system.

2.2.2 Racializing higher education

For Du Plessis (2006: 97), the University of the Cape of Good Hope was established as an English medium institution and so were the colleges that developed, which later became autonomous institutions. During the period of the unification of South Africa the university system transitioned into a bilingual English-Afrikaans university system; the product of the post-Union pact between white English and Dutch speakers.

The post-Union pact between the white English and Dutch speakers brought changes in higher education which introduced complex racial and language structures in the university system. After 1948 when Afrikaner nationalism was ruling South Africa, English speakers were accepted into the social sphere of the new nation –yet, they were kept at a distance from the cultural inner circle of Afrikanerdom. White English speakers were included socially through the bilingual structure of the national education of that era. Moreover, white English speakers had to learn to speak Afrikaans to assimilate to the cultural climate of that time. Nonetheless, by virtue of their colonial past and connection to the wider anglophone university network, English speakers remained culturally dominant.

The social and cultural unification of white English speakers and Afrikaners marked the transition of the Cape Colonial higher education from 1910 to the beginning of apartheid in 1948. Nonetheless, higher education was fragmented and unequal. The consequences of inequality in the national education system introduced race and language as a central aspect in the apartheid project. Henceforth, the post-1948 apartheid government endeavoured to formalise Afrikaans in higher education institutions. The apartheid government used language and race to segregate higher education, which was institutionally maintained by a separate department for the different racial and ethnic groups namely Black, Indian, Coloured and white people (Thobejane, 2013: 2).

Institutionalising race and language introduced inequality in higher education during the twentieth century and its origins has roots in the social and cultural uniqueness of emerging indigenous white English speakers and Afrikaners. The apartheid government used race and language systematically to divide and discriminate against people they considered non-whites. The division and discrimination of people who were considered non-white ensured that white people occupied the core of the education system where universities were infrastructurally better equipped (Seekings, 2008: 4). The systematic division of universities spilled into other aspects of the union which aided the creation of policies that supported the segregation of people based on race. These policies were specifically designed to exclude and racially categorise people and ensured that black citizens could not access good resources, including historically white universities which at that time were infrastructurally well invested.

The influence of apartheid higher education during the twentieth century was very severe and black South Africans were prohibited from accessing the same resources and attending the same universities as white students. From 1918 to 1978, irrespective of their academic abilities, black people were not allowed to attend historically white universities because the apartheid government attempted to avoid social mixing of racial groups. Only in cases where it was proven that black institutions did not offer the program, were black students permitted to attend historically white universities, which included staying in racially segregated accommodations. Race was central to the apartheid project and consequently academically outstanding black students could not attend historically white universities, including Stellenbosch University, which therefore highlighted racial issues in higher education (Grundlingh, 2018: 57).

Race is a social construct that has no biological basis and stems from colonialism and apartheid. In South Africa it has been conflated with cultural differences which reinforces social stereotypes and social inequalities (Bhana & Pattman, 2010: 382). Initially, during the colonial period, race was used to refer to the white English population and Afrikaans and Dutch

speakers. (Heese, 2018: 17). As Afrikaans and Afrikaners gained momentum, the term race was increasingly used to distinguish between people who were designated as “white” and “non-white”. This prompted the legalisation and institutionalisation of white supremacy and was supported by religion and ideologies of the era (Naicker, 2012). The understanding of race as a characteristic that separates individuals, was the basis of the apartheid ideology which led to the complete separation of people even in academic institutions. Seekings (2008: 1) argues that race is still continuously used in South Africa to define and distinguish spaces.

2.3 Early history of Stellenbosch University

Stellenbosch developed as a farming town after 1652 when the Dutch burghers migrated into the area in search of greater independence from the Dutch administration in Cape Town. As more settlers migrated to Stellenbosch, the need to develop an education system that met the educational needs of the colonists’ children grew, thus the first children’s school in Stellenbosch was established in 1683 (Heese, 2018: 4).

By 1810 three Dutch schools had been established in the town and after 1819 several English medium schools were established. In addition, the origins of higher education in Stellenbosch has its traces in the first theological seminary that was established in 1859 by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) (Hill, 2008). During the founding years of the union, Stellenbosch University was entrenched in the ideals of a project that aimed at creating a place for Afrikaans in higher education (Grundlingh, 2018: 27). To advance the objective of creating a place for Afrikaans in higher education, Jan Marias (an Afrikaner businessman who made his fortune in the Kimberly diamond industry) made a sizable contribution to Victoria college with the conditions that Dutch and Afrikaans should not have a lower status than English at the college (Hill, 2008).

2.3.1 From school to college

“Het Stellenbosch Gymnasium of First Class Udenominational School” was opened in 1866 and learners who had previously attended Rhenish were transferred to the gymnasium (Heese, 2018: 6–7). In 1874 a new act was passed by the Cape parliament that provided a framework for a new colonial higher education and made provision for tertiary education at selected high schools, which were subsequently designated as colleges (Hill, 2008).

The level of education one could obtain during the colonial period was limited. Regardless, more emphasis was increasingly placed on education, which prompted the establishment of

tertiary education in Stellenbosch. This allowed students who had obtained first class certificates to advance to higher levels, which included the second and third-class certificate. The introduction of higher levels of education in the cape colony, transformed Stellenbosch gymnasium to a tertiary institution. In 1881 the status of the Stellenbosch educational institution was raised and Stellenbosch gymnasium was renamed Stellenbosch College and the role of the college was to prepare students for the examinations of the University of the Cape of Good Hope (Hill, 2008).

Stellenbosch College was one of the first colleges in South Africa. As a result of the British influence in the colony and the University of Cape of Good Hope, the academic character of the college was largely influenced by the Scottish-Calvinists styles although all the students were exclusively Afrikaans-Dutch (Heese, 2018: 10). To celebrate Queen Victoria's 50th birthday, the college was named Victoria College which further solidified the stronghold of the British influences in securing the status of English in higher education (Hill, 2008).

2.4 Brief overview of language in higher education and Stellenbosch University

2.4.1 Higher education in the past

Since the time when the first academic institution was established in the town of Stellenbosch, language was contested. English was used in education throughout the cape colony but when the union was formed, the use of Afrikaans and Dutch increased tremendously. Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in higher education evolved through its association with Afrikaner nationalism (Du Plessis, 2006: 97). Afrikaner nationalism evolved before apartheid, nonetheless, when the apartheid administration emerged after 1948, structures that introduced Afrikaans as an academic language emerged which consequently was used to justify different schooling systems for different racial, ethnic and language groups.

The history of South Africa prior to democracy exhibits institutionalised racism and segregation in higher education. On different levels, the apartheid project secluded white South Africans, ensured white privilege and tried to ensure that racial mixing did not happen by creating separate areas for different ethnicities. Accordingly Seekings (2008: 4) states that by creating separate areas, white South Africans attend “better” schools and got better paying jobs, which allowed them to pay the tuition for their children. Access to resources, wealth and political influence was in the hands of white South Africans which was maintained by the policies of the

national party. Considerably, white South Africans were observed as first-class citizens because they had more opportunities to access resources that black South Africans could not obtain.

Consequently, for more than half a century, all education in South Africa was divided racially and ethnically, and these two points of reference were used to distinguish between various groups within the population. Segregating schools was an approach used by the apartheid government to foster different patterns of socialisation amongst the people of South Africa. According to Badsha and Harper (2000b: 12), the structure of higher education prior to the implementation of new policies and planning by the democratic government was modelled in terms of an apartheid ideology whose aim was to promote whiteness.

The assumed superiority of white people by the NP made it possible for the apartheid government to establish doctrines that were implemented in schooling systems. In their ideology a hierarchal structure was created with white people in a position of privilege and power. White people who claimed power and superiority deemed it necessary to place black people at the bottom of the structure because they were not seen as intellectually capable of learning, therefore they needed a subordinate learning system (Moradi, 2010: 3).

The institutionalisation of apartheid policies in education segregated people and changed the landscape of South Africa by consequently imposing a system that hailed white people as first-class citizens and other races as lower-class citizens (Thobejane, 2013: 1). Within this structure, it became increasingly impossible for the lower-class citizens to educate themselves which was one of the bases for their exclusions from all jobs that would allow them to compete with white people. Accordingly, lower class citizens were forced into the periphery of society that had poor paying jobs and low levels of education. The lower-class citizens were forced to adapt to the systems and structures created by the first-class citizens who occupied the core spaces in society, including better paying jobs, better schools and better living conditions.

2.4.2 Higher education as a tool for separate learning

Aside from race, language was used to maintain the dominance of white South Africans in higher education. The white minority that governed South Africa occupied central positions where their influences in higher education were used for political, social, economic and cultural control of others which reinforced the interest of the white minority (Mabokela & King, 2001: 61). In addition, the emergence of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in higher education was systematically used to promote ideals that marginalised black people. The result thereof,

ensured that the white minority had absolute control of various infrastructures which excluded black people politically, socially and economically (Mabokela & King, 2001: 60).

In the twentieth century, white South Africans benefitted immensely from the unequal system during apartheid. There was an attempt to elevate poor white Afrikaners who were previously side-lined during colonialism. By doing so the apartheid government established Afrikaner identity and maintained Afrikaans in higher education. The process of developing and institutionalising Afrikaans in the higher education system established subsequent higher education policies (Hay & Monnapula-Mapesela, 2009: 11). Overtime, Afrikaans became the primary medium in historical Afrikaans universities. The attempt to elevate Afrikaans led to decreased use of English at historically Afrikaans universities (Hill 2009: 335). The national party, dedicated resources to achieving the goal of advancing Afrikaans in higher education during the twentieth century (Mabokela & King, 2001: 61). This became a priority for the government which resulted in sustained efforts to establish Afrikaans only universities including Stellenbosch University.

Creating Afrikaans only institutions developed the language of Afrikaans and consequently resulted in white Afrikaans speakers having an advantage in society. In addition, the intentional ethnic segregation used language to reinvent the colonial racist systems that excluded black people from accessing resources that would propel them to better socio-economic levels, where they could compete with white people. The use of Afrikaans in higher education showed the intent to secure a permanent place for Afrikaans as a language of education. The idea to develop Afrikaans, consequently the presence of Afrikaner identity was exploited by the Apartheid government which led to segregation of schools. When Afrikaans and Afrikaner identity became deeply rooted in the society, certain Afrikaners deliberately discriminated against other races and cultures. The blatant discrimination was echoed in the 1953 speech of Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd who was then the head of the apartheid government, that “[he] would rather see South Africa White and poor than to see it rich and mixed” (Seepe & McLean, 1999 cited in Thobejane, 2015: 1).

2.4.3 Challenging inequality in higher education

The inequality rooted in South African education is alarming when one examines higher education and the “diversified” population of students enrolled in universities especially in HAUs (Badsha & Harper, 2000: 12). There are many debates about education in South Africa that focuses on inclusivity and how to transform the structures of historically white institutions

to truly reflect not just the racial but also the language diversity of South Africa. The discussions brought forward by students and staff argues that educational structures in South Africa that catered for predominantly white Afrikaans speakers, should be accessible to everyone and not be simply limited to their ability to speak Afrikaans (Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014: 70).

As the oldest Afrikaans university in South Africa, the language policy and debate at Stellenbosch University is highly contested (Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014: 70). The ongoing language discussion at Stellenbosch University is rooted in the history of inequality in higher education during apartheid. The institutional divisions created by apartheid has thus proven to be a difficult hurdle to overcome because black students still feel discrimination based on race, ethnicity and their “inability” to perform adequately in Afrikaans.

2.4.4 Rethinking Afrikaans in higher education

In 1910 when the union of South Africa was established, there was an apparent need to introduce bilingualism as a means to develop both Afrikaans and English in higher education (Du Plessis, 2006: 96). The leaders of the union therefore used bilingualism to develop Afrikaans in what was then a predominantly anglophone higher education system. In addition, the push to use bilingualism to develop Afrikaans created a sense of belonging – an identity that Afrikaans speakers attached themselves to. This was welcomed by white South Africans particularly Afrikaners who supported the efforts to establish and maintain Afrikaans as a separate cultural and language group whilst also securing a place for Afrikaners as an ethno-language group in the country (Mabokela & King, 2001: 62).

2.4.5 Developing Afrikaans into a cultural performance

Beyond communication, language is a tool people use to identify the observed world, but also as a medium they use to make sense of their social realities. The ability to engage using language is an active process that demands the individual to have the ability to grasp language, so that they can fulfil their identity and perform their role. To do this, the individual needs the necessary skill set for that language and they need to be willing to perform and showcase their repertoire in the space they find themselves. For example, residences unify the people who belong to that residence. Nonetheless, students in residences need to possess the necessary language skills in order to perform in that space. In this case, the identity of the residence is a value which people have that makes them perform according to the collective identity and traditions of the residence. Identity, Ng and Deng (2017: 1) claim, functions in social

interactions and language policies because of the power language has to maintain existing dominant discourse that favours a particular group of language users over others.

2.4.6 Restructuring Historically White Universities

Since the 1994 democratic elections, the South African government has continuously put pressure on HWUs to change their institutional structures and policies to be more inclusive. One of the biggest issues in higher education in South Africa today is access for black people in HWUs. In Stellenbosch, the struggle for transformation is premised on access for black students to study in English (Van der Waal & Du Toit, 2018: 451). The process of transforming SU has seen a shift from the right to language identity to the right to access.

English and Afrikaans have carried the privilege and burden since colonialism and apartheid. Both languages are used as main mediums at Stellenbosch University. Nonetheless as the number of black students at SU increased, the structures controlling the boundaries of Afrikaans were redefined. For many black students Afrikaans at SU is less attractive because it limits their opportunity in the world of education and work (Van der Waal & Du Toit, 2018: 453). The idea that Afrikaans is not attractive for a lot of black students does not mean that it is attractive for all whites. In their study “*Multiple voices in Bilingual Higher Education: Languages choices of Afrikaans/English Bilinguals at Stellenbosch University*” Oostendorp and Anthonissen (2014: 80), recorded that some of the white Afrikaans speaking participants acknowledge the importance of English for academic and social purposes.

The younger white Afrikaans speaking generation have better English in their repertoire than the older generation because there are no more Afrikaans only institutions. This was as a result of the newly elected democratic government’s decision and efforts of the national policy for higher education that disallows Afrikaans only institutions. The argument supporting the decision indicated that Afrikaans denies other language groups the right to education because it perpetuates a system of injustice. As a result, the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) proposed that for the country to improve its education, major stake holders in higher education need to be involved in the process of formulating new policies that highly involved participatory research (Badsha & Harper, 2000: 11). The reason for this inclusionary approach was to mobilize people and transform educational structures as quickly and radically as possible (Bitzer & Wilkinson, 2009: 378).

2.4.7 Afrikaans at Stellenbosch University

At the time when Stellenbosch University was known as Victoria College, English was the medium of instruction. Afrikaans as an official language had not yet been established in higher education in South Africa. The development of Afrikaans was more than developing the terminology but also the appropriation and promotion of a style, written and spoken, with the aim of introducing it into education. In 1875, S. J. du Toit a Dutch minister, founded Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (The fellowship for true Afrikaners), which was the first significant attempt to transform and create a written tradition for Afrikaans – thus a language that could be printed (Hill, 2008). Although Afrikaans was in print, it was difficult for the language to gain the popularity because it needed wide spread recognition- since the British were in control, there was no chance of developing large economy for Afrikaans. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism in 1920s and 30s, established a market for Afrikaans which made it easier to institutionalise Afrikaans in higher education.

The emergence of Afrikaans as an academic medium at Stellenbosch University, is rooted in the development of fields of education, secondary and tertiary. The irritation of the growing Afrikaans community was aimed at the British because Afrikaners wanted a place where they could develop their identity, culture and language in education. This was more difficult before the union, because the British used English in higher education and administratively to control the colony.

After 1910 when the Union of South Africa was established, the movement for Afrikaans gained momentum. During this period, the emergence of Afrikaans at Stellenbosch the oldest Afrikaans university, formed a broader part of the cultural process associated with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism. Afrikaans at Stellenbosch was developed technically as well as politically, which white Afrikaans speakers used to appropriate social spaces (Hill, 2008). Therefore, Afrikaans as an academic language at Stellenbosch was developed on the idea of establishing an autonomous Afrikaans institution – a “cradle for a higher Afrikaans spiritual life” (Visser, 2018: 94).

The ambitious efforts of creating an autonomous institution where Afrikaans would be developed and sustained, was also based on the demand of Afrikaners who insisted that Afrikaans be used to instruct their children (Mabokela & King, 2001: 61). As a result of the effort by the Afrikaans movement, Afrikaans was recognised and subsumed under Dutch in 1925. The result thereof was that Afrikaans was used in the national education system. This led to a sustained development of Afrikaans as an academic language which Visser (2018: 93)

claims fostered the idea of creating institutions, for example SU, that only instructed in Afrikaans.

Afrikaans like any other language is linked to the identity of individuals who perform and appropriate the language, politically, culturally and socially. The identity of Afrikaners was strongly linked to the emergence of Afrikaans. The idea that Afrikaans had developed into a culture, encouraged the efforts to maintain Afrikaans at HAUs, including Stellenbosch. Afrikaners argued that English and Dutch were recognised as official languages in the colony, yet Afrikaners did not feel as though they belonged or identified with either of the two languages. Afrikaners wanted to differentiate themselves, thus it was necessary that Afrikaans was developed and acknowledged, so that Afrikaners could have an identity in the colony (Mabokela & King, 2001: 61). Afrikaans is a language embedded in different cultures. Many black people were coerced into learning Afrikaans because it was one of the languages the apartheid government made compulsory in schools. Thus, it is not uncommon to find black students in higher education institution who have Afrikaans in their repertoire.

2.5 Stellenbosch University residential spaces

2.5.1 Stellenbosch University and Residence Taxonomy

As the population of student enrolling from different parts of the country into Stellenbosch University grew, new residences were established. Black students who had no previous exposure to Afrikaans were exposed to the language and parts of the culture. In residences, students are exposed to other students from different racial and language backgrounds. The table below indicates the different residences and PSOs at Stellenbosch University. Included in the table are the dates when the residences and PSOs were established, the cluster they belong to, their composition in terms of gender, undergraduate or postgraduate; percentage of Black, coloured and Indian students (BCI), as well as the dominant language in the space. Residences and PSOs are distinguishable from each other given that residences are formal buildings where students live. The first residence at Stellenbosch University was a male residence, Wilgenhof, which was established in 1903 to cater for the increase in the student population. What is worth noting is that the male residences tended to be established before the female residences, and PSOs were developed much later, as the number of students increased. It is worth mentioning that there are more undergraduate residences than postgraduate residences because there are more undergraduate students at SU than postgraduate students.

During the early years of Stellenbosch University, only white Afrikaans students could live in residence. The racial climate of those times influenced the structure and policies of residence placement, hence black students were not permitted to live in the same residence as white students. The table shows the residences and PSOs on the Stellenbosch campus and what the table shows is a low percentage of Black, Coloured and Indian students in undergraduate residences compared to postgraduate residences. In the coming chapters the factors influencing the percentage of BCI are discussed to explain why there are more BCI students in postgraduate residences than in undergraduate residences.

Table 2: Taxonomy of residences and PSO's at Stellenbosch University.

RESIDENCES	DATE	GENDER	BCI %	UG/PG	RES/PSO	LANGUAGE	CLUSTER
<i>Wilgenhof</i>	1903	M	Low	UG	Res	A	Victoria
<i>Dagbreek</i>	1921	M	Low	UG	Res	A	Vicmeyr
<i>Helderberg</i>	1945	M	Low	UG	Res	A	AmaMaties
<i>Huis Marias</i>	1947	M	Low	UG	Res	A	Validus
<i>Huis Visser</i>	1951	M	Low	UG	Res	A	Validus
<i>Simonsberg</i>	1956	M	Low	UG	Res	A	Validus
<i>Eendrag</i>	1961	M	Low	UG	Res	A	Wimbledon
<i>Majuba</i>	1967	M	Low	UG	Res	A	Vicmeyr
<i>Helshoogte</i>	1973	M	Low	UG	Res	A	Wimbledon
<i>Harmonie</i>	1905	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Victoria
<i>Nerina</i>	1921	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Rubix
<i>Monica</i>	1926	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Victoria
<i>Huis ten Bosch</i>	1935	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Vicmeyr
<i>Sonop</i>	1938	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Wimbledon
<i>Lydia</i>	1953	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Vicmeyr
<i>Minereva</i>	1958	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Vicmeyr
<i>Irene</i>	1963	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Wimbledon
<i>Hemstede</i>	1966	F	Low	UG	Res	A	Rubix
<i>Nemesia</i>	1968	F	Low	UG	Res	A	AmaMaties
<i>Erica</i>	1975	F	Low	UG	Res	A	AmaMaties
<i>Serruria</i>	1977	F	Low	UG	Res	A	AmaMaties
<i>Gold Fields</i>	1987	M/F	High	UG	Res	A/E	Validus
<i>Metanoia</i>	2006	M/F	High	UG	Res	A/E	Rubix
<i>Huis Neetling</i>	2013	M/F	Low	UG	Res	A	AmaMaties
<i>Pieke</i>	1973	M	Low	UG	PSO	A	Rubix
<i>Oude Molen</i>	1973	M	Low	UG	PSO	A	Victoria
<i>Libertas</i>	2007	M	Low	UG	PSO	A	AmaMaties
<i>Vesta</i>	2012	M	High	UG	PSO	E	Wimbledon
<i>Aristea</i>	1973	F	Low	UG	PSO	A/E	Wimbledon

<i>Equite</i>	2007	F	Low	UG	PSO	A/E	AmaMaties
<i>Silene</i>	2008	F	Low	UG	PSO	A/E	Victoria
<i>Venustia</i>	2009	F	Low	UG	PSO	A/E	Rubix
<i>Aurora</i>	1981	M/F	High	UG	PSO	A/E	Vicmeyr
<i>Olympus</i>	2012	M/F	High	UG	PSO	E	Validus
<i>Lobelia</i>	2000	M/F	High	PG	Res	A/E	Validus
<i>Huis MacDonald</i>	2000	M/F	High	PG	Res	A/E	Validus
<i>Concordia</i>	2000	M/F	High	PG	Res	A/E	Validus
<i>Huis de Villiers</i>	2009	M/F	High	PG	Res	A/E	Victoria
<i>Huis Russel Botman</i>	2015	M/F	High	PG	Res	A/E	Wimbledon

2.5.2 Student residences at Stellenbosch

Stellenbosch has historically been an Afrikaans area, characterised by a particular type of Afrikaans tied to particular type of racism, which was not questioned for many decades. When Stellenbosch University was established as an autonomous Afrikaans university, Afrikaners who sought to learn in Afrikaans migrated to the Stellenbosch town. As the number of students wanting to enrol at Stellenbosch University increased, SU was mandated to increase the number of housing opportunities for their incoming students. Henceforth, more residential buildings were established as they were considered an important part of the academic development of Stellenbosch University (Heese, 2018: 23). Since the number of students at Stellenbosch outnumbered other language categories, Afrikaans as a language became institutionalised in residences socially and culturally.

The first residences established in Stellenbosch University were Wilgenhof for men and Harmonie for women (Heese, 2018: 17) These two residences created a pattern for the residences that followed them. These gendered residences created a “brotherhood” and “sisterhood” culture which was observed as a way of recreating the “home away from home” atmosphere. Wilgenhof and Harmonie, created a student culture that introduced certain practices and traditions in residences at Stellenbosch University. The practices of racial segregation influenced residences across South Africa, which Seekings (2008: 3) claims was because the apartheid government wanted to maintain racial purity.

2.5.3 Changes in residences at Stellenbosch University

The decision to admit the first “non-white” students at SU in 1978 raised a lot of concerns by many Afrikaners, who warned that enrolling students of colour would disturb the balance of Afrikanerdom and the institution they established (Grundlingh & Nasson, 2018: 56). Irrespective of their concerns, students of colour were for the first time enrolled at Stellenbosch

University. Contact between the racial categories was shallow because of the racial tension – a product of apartheid. Students of colour did not feel welcomed because of the hostile treatment they received from white Afrikaans students since “they do not regards us as fully fledged Maties” implying that the requirement to be a Matie was that you had to be white and preferably Afrikaans (Grundlingh & Nasson, 2018: 58). Nonetheless, SU established goldfields to accommodate and provide students of colour a place on campus where they lived and developed their identity as an attempt of becoming part of the broader “Matie Spirit” (Visser, 2018: 137).

The infrastructures developed during apartheid that aimed to institutionalise racism, marginalised people of colour, preventing them from attending institutions such as SU. According to Reddy (2004: 29), the oppression of people of colour spread to international communities who condemned apartheid through sanctions, boycotts and other means to add pressure on the NP government to end apartheid. As international communities became involved, the national party government had to reform their policies which contributed to abolishing apartheid. Nonetheless after 1994, the newly elected democratic government urged universities established during apartheid to respond to the demands of transformation, which included changes in the structures, arrangements and institutional policies (Vandeyar & Mohale, 2017: 264).

The new policies introduced changes in higher education and affected change in HWUs particularly HAUs. Stellenbosch University like other HAUs opened their doors to black students, albeit that transformation at Stellenbosch University was slower than other HAUs. The individuals who were kept segregated during apartheid were brought together at institutions of learning and other contexts (Vandeyar & Mohale, 2017: 264).

2.5.4 Developing a student culture at Stellenbosch University

The personal attachment to a residence created loyalty among its members thus contributing to the birth of the so called “Matie Spirit” (Visser, 2018: 96). The Matie Spirit can be described as feeling a sense of belonging to the university structure. It is about the liberty to participate in different activities engage different spaces and influence the overall atmosphere of the student environment. Since they were not in the position to do so, students of colour could not make a noticeable impact on the Matie Spirit. Their influences were limited to their unique identity developed through symbols, flags, songs and ways of conducting their affairs, including sports. In HWUs throughout South Africa, Vandeyar and Mohale (2017: 256) argue that “cultural mistrust” occurs because students of colour are conscious of the attitudes and behaviours of white students towards them.

The significance of social integration in developing and redefining institutional culture at HWUs residences – including Stellenbosch University residences – to avoid cultural mistrust should not be overlooked. Vandeyar and Mohale (2017: 265) go on to claim that issues that might produce cultural mistrust include prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination and marginalisation. The consequence thereof is that students of colour are not necessarily ecstatic about joining residences at HWUs, particularly in HAUs such as Stellenbosch University, although there are more opportunities to access resources. Despite the opportunities to access resources, in some case students of colour transfer to historically black universities because they feel comfortable with their skin colour in spaces at historically black universities. Entering a mainly white Afrikaans university residence could cause them to experience culture shock, therefore the support network in residences should facilitate social participation that aims to improve interracial and intercultural experiences.

2.5.5 The need for PSOs and clusters

In 1937, Private Student Organisations were introduced in Stellenbosch because the Stellenbosch University residences could not house the growing number of students (Visser, 2018: 105). PSOs were introduced as another form of residence, without official buildings, to give students who were not staying in residences (official buildings) a similar orientation and treatment as the students staying in residences. As the number of students grew, the number of PSO's increased to keep up with the demand of students staying privately. Besides the students in residences, many students stay at their homes or with their parents and commute to campus every day because of many reasons including the cost of staying in residence. There was a need to organise and manage the growing number of PSOs so that they too could have a kind of residence experience. The idea of clusters was created to combine residences and PSOs for specific activities and promote teamwork and relationship building with the student community. Some of the activities include facilitated discussions on issues at SU and in student communities, sporting events and other social events.

A cluster is comprised of residences and PSOs placed together to give every student a similar exposure that will enhance their university experience and promote their success. Currently, there are seven clusters, formed according to their geographic proximity to their communities which are the residences and PSO. Therefore, the cluster system creates a physical location on campus spaces for PSO students to meet and integrate with students in residences.

2.6 Theoretical understanding of language and residential spaces

In this section of the chapter, I explore different theoretical insights and use them to explain the language in residential spaces. I develop an understanding of repertoire, contact theory and critical race theory. According to Hymes (1996: 33)

“repertoire comprises a set of ways of speaking. Ways of speaking in turn comprise speech styles, on the one hand, and contexts of discourse, on the other, together with relations of appropriateness obtaining between style and context”.

Language is important for communicating in any society. In residences and other contexts at Stellenbosch University, how languages are used forms part of a cultural capital that holds value depending on the style of communication and the context where the communication occurs. English and Afrikaans are languages of value at Stellenbosch University. To communicate effectively, students require the appropriate language in the appropriate context for the language to have value. In residence contexts where there are different language speakers, students with languages other than English and Afrikaans in their repertoire, may find it difficult to navigate the space. Language in a social space is very important for navigating that social space. It grants you audience with people and in a way, you feel dignified when you can relate to someone who shares a common language. This is highlighted by Ng and Deng (2017: 1), when stating that an individual’s ability to speak a language puts them in a position of power and through this, they use their language as a weapon to influence and dominate others who do not speak their language. Furthermore, they argue that language serves as a social function that forms people’s identity and this identity is used in social interactions, which favours groups of language users over others (Ng & Deng, 2017: 1). To this end, language is a powerful tool in the hands of those who have mastery of a language since they use it to influence people in interactions.

2.6.1 Language in the repertoire and cultural capital in the residence field

Hymes's (1996: 33) definition of repertoire describes a particular language style that is used in a particular context, and in this case, it is residences at Stellenbosch University. The norms of appropriateness link style and context, for example in residences it might be considered to an extent fine to speak one’s home language or English to individuals, but it might not be appropriate to speak English in a residence house meeting. This understanding of repertoire suggests that individuals in residence spaces have languages in their repertoire which are not English or Afrikaans yet end up feeling inadequate because of their inability to use English or Afrikaans.

For Bourdieu (1986), capital is accumulated overtime and creates a hierarchy in a field of practice. As spoken languages Afrikaans and English at Stellenbosch University are embodied forms of cultural capital. The different styles or languages in the repertoire act as currencies that give value to students who speak and use the language well. In this case the field of practice is the residence where English and Afrikaans have more value than other languages. In order to address institutionalised cultures created and appropriated by white English and Afrikaans students, the field needs to be examined.

Language as a form of capital is institutionalised in residences culturally and socially. Afrikaans and English as primary languages in Stellenbosch University, has its roots in the influences of English and Dutch colonials. The influences of English, Dutch and subsequently Afrikaans, informed many cultural practices in residence spaces. Although practised differently, there are traditions, norms and values passed on from one generation to the next which enable certain performances to be institutionalised. Students who do not participate or contribute to the traditions and practices of that residence, will not learn the necessary ways of appropriating the languages needed to assimilate socially in that residence.

The ability to use a language effectively in the residence field shows a student's versatility. Regardless, only English and Afrikaans constitute dominant forms of cultural capital in the Stellenbosch market, thus English and Afrikaans as embodied forms of capital are institutionalised. For example, a student entering Stellenbosch University who is a mother tongue isiXhosa speaker, cannot use isiXhosa in the formal contexts of Stellenbosch because only English and Afrikaans function as official languages at Stellenbosch, thus establishing these languages as dominant cultural capital in the Stellenbosch market. For them to effectively take part in the market, they need English and Afrikaans in their repertoire. isiXhosa in a different context such as on an individual level might be valuable, however, the quality of Afrikaans and English in the student's repertoire functions as dominant forms of cultural capital in the residence and generally in spaces at Stellenbosch University.

Language as a form of embodied and institutionalised cultural capital is highlighted by the efforts to retain Afrikaans at Stellenbosch University. In an attempt to retain the status of Afrikaans, the older generation of white Afrikaners according to Van der Waal and Du Toit (2018: 453), still hold on protectively to structures controlling the boundaries of Afrikaans at Stellenbosch University. Up until the 2016 language policy, there was an assumption that students coming to Stellenbosch, have at least a weak form of Afrikaans in their repertoire. This suggests that students were expected to attend lectures in Afrikaans although they might not feel comfortable speaking Afrikaans. As a result, the maintenance of Afrikaans at Stellenbosch

University continues to be examined. Essentially in order to feel included and be able to interact in the residences and spaces at SU, students need to have at least a level of English and Afrikaans in their repertoire albeit an entry level of the languages.

2.6.2 Critical race theory and Contact theory

Contact theory according to Allport (1954) highlights four conditions that help successful intergroup contact namely: equal status within the situation, common goal, inter-group cooperation and support from authority. Within the cluster set-up, contact theory is important because it establishes ideas why it is necessary to place PSOs and residences in the same cluster – to break the ethnic and gendered identity bonds institutionalised by white English and Afrikaans cultures. Students in PSOs stay in private accommodation. The contact between them and students staying in residence is limited. Clusters create a space where contact between students in PSOs and residence occur. Contact theory provides theoretical insights on how to address limited contact between students in PSOs and students in residences.

On an individual level, contact theory provides a theoretical frame through which to explore interracial (group) networks with the aim of reducing prejudice, increasing empathy for the out-group and lowering intergroup anxiety (Vandeyar & Mohale, 2017: 256). Students in residence come from different backgrounds. Most students at Stellenbosch University who come from socio-economically privileged backgrounds are white whereas a higher percentage of students from socio-economically underprivileged backgrounds are black. Contact between these dissimilar groups of students is necessary in building rapport by getting them to engage with each other and share experiences and ideas that helps establish social cohesion.

Contact between different groups in residences occurs on different platforms including, house meetings, excursions and sporting events. Utilising contact theory, the identity, norms, values and traditions of residences are questioned. The idea presented by Vandeyar and Mohale (2017: 266) is that in HWUs black students often refrain from interracial contact and separate themselves to form predominantly black groups. This in certain context can be applied to Stellenbosch University. At Stellenbosch and other HAUs it is important to document the experiences of black students especially in residences, so that negative race relations in historically white university residences can be examined to produce a more tolerant attitude, equal status, equal opportunity and shared power.

To document black students' experiences, critical race theory (Tyson, 2003) provides a theoretical framework through which individual and institutionally motivated racist acts can be

highlighted, critiqued and corrected needs to be employed. The critical race theory therefore highlights individual and institutional racism as two types of racism that needs to be addressed. Critical race theory proposes that neutrality, objectivity and colour blindness systematically devalue blackness by normalising whiteness (Vandeyar & Mohale, 2017: 266). Furthermore, this theory suggests that racism is an embedded and institutionalised aspect of society and is therefore found in the core of politics, economic and social structures. In residences at Stellenbosch University where whiteness and Afrikaans are institutionalised, critical race theory advocates for black voices. Empowering black students to speak about their experiences in residences, individual and institutionalised racism is highlighted, critiqued and corrected (Vandeyar & Mohale, 2017: 266).

Social interaction in residences is complex because individual differences and societal norms shape group contact. Individuals entering residential spaces have repertoires which do not necessarily include English and Afrikaans. Yet given the history of Stellenbosch University as a historically Afrikaans university, it was assumed that the culture is based on a certain kind of English/Afrikaans repertoire and habitus. Although Stellenbosch University is historically Afrikaans, white English-speaking students still enrolled at the university. The English and Afrikaans bilingual repertoire, coupled with the status of being white, puts them in a position of privilege.

The influences of Afrikaans and English together with the status of being white stratifies residential spaces thus creating an inner and outer circle. Residences in the inner circle physically and historically speaking are influenced by white Afrikaans and English cultures because often parents and grandparents of white English and Afrikaans students stayed there. The outer circle comprises of post-graduate residences accommodating mainly black students. Engaging the field of practice, contact theory brings cultures from the inner and outer circle closer to each other. Nonetheless, to transform those spaces, critical race theory needs to be employed to give previously disadvantaged individuals the platform to narrate their experiences and voice their concerns, which can be used when implementing policies.

2.6.3 Conclusion

After the new democratic government was elected in 1994, transformation in higher education was necessary. The systems created during apartheid needed to be addressed to ensure that previously disadvantaged students had access to universities that were previously racialised. HWUs were mandated to develop new policies that saw the increase in the number of black students particularly in HAUs. Institutionally, HAUs needed to develop language policies that

adhere to the language framework act. The language act held universities accountable for ensuring that students are not excluded based on language.

The increase of black students is good for the diversity profile of Stellenbosch University and might even go as far as suggesting that Stellenbosch has transformed. Nonetheless, it is necessary to examine and critique concepts such as transformation and diversity so that strategies that speak to experiences of the marginalised are developed. To do so, theoretical concepts including repertoire which argues that language is comprised of sets of ways of speaking including styles that are appropriated in different contexts; contact theory which advocates for contact between different groups on the grounds of common status and equal opportunity, which leads to empathy and reduces cultural mistrust, and lastly critical theory which rejects normalising whiteness by ignoring the voices of previously disadvantaged students whose voices should ultimately influence changes is required.

In chapter 3, the language and residence placement policies together with other relevant documents of SU are examined. Chapter 3 traces the development of language policies at Stellenbosch University whilst also drawing insights on placement from the policy. The policies are used as lenses to engage responses from participants in chapter 4.

Chapter 3: Changes in language and residence placement policies

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review policy documents of Stellenbosch University that are relevant to the focus on language in residences. These include SU's language policy and the residence placement policy. These documents are used to address the discussion on transformation at Stellenbosch University. The recent attention to language and residence placement at Stellenbosch University indicates an effort by the university to address structures that previously focused on the needs of white Afrikaans students.

The language policies provide a guide for how language should be used in teaching and learning particularly at undergraduate levels. The residence placement policy on the other hand describes different factors and processes for placing students in residences across the different campuses. These documents are continuously updated and are mostly reactions to the changes influenced by students. As a result, new policies at Stellenbosch University are always lagging behind students' actions on campus. There was a significant shift from the 2002 language policies, where Afrikaans was used as the default language in teaching and learning at the undergraduate level, to the 2014 language policy where English and Afrikaans were accredited equal status. Since then in the 2016 language policy, a major change to how information is conveyed at SU occurred which puts emphasis on English as the medium of teaching and learning. The shift in the Stellenbosch University's nomenclature and policy has created a channel whereby another South African language isiXhosa, is considered as a possible language of communication, as they are supposedly striving to make the environment more diverse and inclusive for student and staff at Stellenbosch University.

The gradual steps of making English the priority language of teaching and learning at Stellenbosch University with reference to the 2002 to the 2014 language policy is linked to the increase of the English-speaking students. Since then, the sudden changes to English in the policy emphasising that all information conveyed is conveyed in English, has to do with the enrolment of black African language-speaking students who use English as their second language for studies but have English in their repertoire but not as home language speakers. The pressure from previously disadvantaged individuals who were discriminated against based on their race and language, encouraged continuous transformation practices at SU. The shift from using Afrikaans and English simultaneously in a lecture to having all information conveyed in English, makes English the dominant preferred option at Stellenbosch University.

In this chapter, I examine the aforementioned documents and use them to create a narrative that traces changes in the policies. Together with the documents, I use interviews from staff members to examine the policies and how they are utilised in practice. The discussions in this chapter, provide a lens through which to interpret the interviews of the students in the chapters to come.

3.2 Establishing an environment for students and staff

Students are undoubtedly important to any academic institution because the tuition they pay, sustains the infrastructure. Also, students are important because they create the institutional culture through the complex interactions among themselves and the staff members. These interactions are fundamental in ensuring that the formed networks create an environment where students and staff do not feel excluded.

The staff including lecturers, have a general role in ensuring and maintaining the success of the institution by educating and helping students to succeed both in and out of the classroom. Furthermore, university staff members have administrative duties to fulfil that holds the university together. They must adhere to and implement the changes in policies passed by the management. Very often, policies are passed in sufficiently vague ways to please the public audience and cover up differences in actual practices which had been a tendency particularly with respect to language at SU over the years. This is because language is very sensitive to Stellenbosch University's core constituents-white Afrikaners and because there have been a series of gradual shifts compromising the status of Afrikaans. This is why the language policy has tended to lag behind actual practices which means that many lecturers, do not perfectly implement the policy because on the one hand they see it as a guide and on the other hand as a market strategy to present a certain image of Stellenbosch University. It is therefore important that policies be used optimally to execute the changes that may be misguided in practices.

Students influence the university environment. They create a culture that is transferrable from one generation to the next and this culture influences people's perception of that university. The cultures created by students particularly undergraduate students, is emphasised by the social and political disputes that occur in those institutional spaces that create the atmosphere for driving organisational and institutional change in that institution. This is because the number of undergraduate students is larger and consequently because of the nature of teaching at undergraduate level. As noted in the report of the 2nd National Higher Education Transformation Summit in 2015, institutional culture was defined as practices in universities that create a sense

of normalcy in the production and distribution of subjectively constructed norms that are not scrutinised and these subjective norms carry cultural identities that are determined by race, religion, class, gender ethnicity and language (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2016).

Stellenbosch University, like other universities in South Africa, is a product of colonialism and apartheid. The institutional culture at Stellenbosch was for a very long time influenced by the subjectively constructed norms of white students. Until recently, their influence on the practices at Stellenbosch University was never really challenged because apparently Stellenbosch University was supposed be one of the universities in South Africa that safeguarded Afrikaans. The continuous outrage by individuals at Stellenbosch University with weak English or no Afrikaans in their repertoire, brought massive attention to language practices. It was observed that the language policy and other language practices, seemed to cater for white English and Afrikaans speaking students. The critics of language use at Stellenbosch University, suggest a new way of approaching language was needed to make the environment more diverse so that no student or staff will feel excluded based on language.

The language debate at Stellenbosch University was a result of the protest by individuals who were not satisfied with the language policies and the uses of language at SU. Among these individuals were black students, staff and interested parties who voiced concerns that the culture at Stellenbosch University was still very white and Afrikaans. In other words, they argued that Stellenbosch University protected the privilege of white students-especially white Afrikaans speakers who apparently dominated numerous social spaces –and used their privilege in those spaces to create a culture that maintained their power. In this chapter, the language nomenclature and policy shift are examined to discuss the circumstances surrounding the changes. The discussion on the changes provides a lens to examine transformation at Stellenbosch University.

3.2.1 The *taaldebat* and the language policy

Language at Stellenbosch University is highly contested. This is because of the different opinions amongst people of various language groups on the use of languages in the university. The various language groups who are interested in the language politics at SU have different agendas as to why they have interests in the language debate. How language is used, when it is used and where it is used is important as it affects access and success of students in and out of the university environment. Hence, on the one hand supporters of retaining Afrikaans argue that Afrikaans is as important in the public sphere as it is in private domains. On the other hand,

people who are critical of Afrikaans welcome the gradual shift the university is making towards English. Although there are noticeable changes in the language policy from 2002 to 2016, students who have no Afrikaans or weak Afrikaans in their repertoire, maintain that in some context at SU Afrikaans is present as the dominant language.

The language debate at Stellenbosch University focuses on issues that deal with the official use of Afrikaans and specifically how language is used in the classroom. The debate has sparked interest in people who argue that SU should be a multilingual and multicultural environment. In the language debate, there are arguments that suggests multiculturalism and multilingualism are important aspects of transformation because Stellenbosch University is diversifying. This means a welcoming environment should be created to accommodate the increasing number of students and staff from different languages and cultures. In addition, promoting multiculturalism engages the wider public, inviting them to take part in discussions that will help transform SU and create an environment that promotes diversity and inclusivity of people from different language backgrounds. Hence, Stellenbosch University continuously engages with the students, staff and public including parents of students and Stellenbosch University's constituents.

As observed on public platforms, including newspapers and social media, there seems to be a vast array of sentiments regarding the major debate known as the language debate. In discussions regarding the *taaldebat*, Stellenbosch University is criticised by Afrikaans speaking constituencies who are displeased because the status of Afrikaans at Stellenbosch University is threatened. On the other hand, SU is criticised for the slow pace of transformation even though the 2016 language policy states that all information conveyed is conveyed in English.

In mid-October 2015 protests erupted at almost every campus in South Africa. The initial #FeesMustFall student-led protest movement that started at the University of Witwatersrand and spread across the country was a reaction to the announcement by the minister of Higher Education who stated that tuition fees would increase in the following year. At Stellenbosch University Open Stellenbosch¹, a minority student group at Stellenbosch University, sought to challenge structures that hindered students access to resources. Among others, their aim was to advocate for openness and equal treatment for all at Stellenbosch University. Central to their argument was reduced tuition fees and the development of better structures that addressed inequality and allowed students from a historically disadvantaged background to access spaces at SU. An issue put forward by the student collective was that students with no Afrikaans in

¹ Open Stellenbosch was a student organisation comprised of mainly black students whose aim was to transform Stellenbosch University

their repertoire, do not have the same opportunities as students who have a strong command of Afrikaans. They are forced to assimilate to a racist Afrikaans environment where they do not feel welcomed but supposedly accommodates them (Contraband Cape Town, 2015). To certain participants in the language debate, the use of language in lectures, has been the focus of the discussion. In this research, I am principally concerned with the way language is used within the culture of the residences, particularly because the gradual shift that sees English as the dominant priority language which ironically might exclude those who do not or have a weak English in their repertoire.

3.2.2 Engaging the SU language policies

Post-1994 discussion on multilingualism did not necessarily bring about the establishment of multilingual universities, it did however effectively revolutionise approach to multilingualism and multiculturalism. Even in the language policy of SU where Afrikaans was considered the default language, English was still accommodated (Du Plessis, 2006: 105). Sentiments that Stellenbosch University should uphold Afrikaans as the main language of teaching and learning in the University was shared by certain coloured and white Afrikaans speakers. They argue that Afrikaans is a minority language and like other official languages of South Africa, Afrikaans is an asset and it should be sustained and promoted in the academic realm. As a historically Afrikaans-medium university, SU was compelled to maintain Afrikaans within a bilingual education model. For Du Plessis (2006: 107), this need to maintain Afrikaans as a language of instruction has been one of the driving forces behind the language policies in historically Afrikaans-medium universities including Stellenbosch University. The argument presented by the categories of Afrikaans speakers that there should be universities in South Africa that have the responsibility to promote academic Afrikaans, Le Cordeur (2015: 12) argues, goes against the grain of transformation.

Stellenbosch University's commitment to transform was seen in the gradual change in the language policies. The first SU language policy post-1994, was committed to maintain the use and development of Afrikaans. The 2002 policy, accompanied by a language plan, demonstrated Afrikaans as a dominant language at SU. In this plan, Afrikaans was the default language at the undergraduate level and lecturers did not need to motivate the use of Afrikaans for teaching. Yet, if they wanted to teach in English, which was increasingly the case since there were more English-speaking students, they needed to have a clear motivation. In cases where the lecturer wanted to use the T-option, which is to use English and Afrikaans in the same lecture the lecturer needed to motivate the use of English. The idea that Afrikaans was a default

language raised concerns among those who had envisioned Afrikaans as the dominant preferred language at SU. They claimed that it was a step down from previous periods when Afrikaans was the official language at SU. In effect this policy was the first step which created an infrastructure for the increased use of English. The motivation for the plan SU insisted, was that a multilingual approach was necessary in the planning and implementation of the language policies because “language is used at the university in a manner that is directed towards engagement with the knowledge in a diverse society” (Stellenbosch University, 2002).

Stellenbosch University’s 2002 language policy aimed to sustain the use and development of Afrikaans as an academic language in a multilingual context (Stellenbosch University, 2002). This suggests that in SU Afrikaans was recognised as a language that supposedly had the potential to influence academia at Stellenbosch University. The reference to a multilingual context, illustrated understandings that the student and staff demographic at SU was changing to include individuals who do not have Afrikaans in their repertoire. Nonetheless, Afrikaans was still the preferred medium for teaching. This was evident in the language policy of 2002 that suggested “a favourable environment for learning and teaching [should] be created where due attention is paid to the safeguarding and advancement of Afrikaans and the utilisation of English as academic languages as well as multilingualism as an asset” (Stellenbosch University, 2002). In the 2002 language policy, Afrikaans was established as the default language in learning and instruction in specific modules. The approach to language proved challenging because the policy assumed every individual to have a minimum level in English and Afrikaans. Following the 2002 SU language policy, a plan was developed and suggested for how to best utilise language at SU:

- Afrikaans (A): Use of Afrikaans as lecturing in a specific module
- Dual medium (T): Balanced use of Afrikaans and English as lecturing languages in a specific module for the same class group
- English (E): Use of English as lecturing language in a specific module
- Parallel medium (A+E): Use of Afrikaans and English for separate class groups in a specific module.

The specifications indicated gradual changes with regards to the changing student population, yet, Afrikaans was still the dominant priority language whereas the use of English had to be motivated. The gradual shift from Afrikaans as a dominant priority language to English as a dominant priority language indicated a policy that was shifting towards creating an inclusive environment that is multicultural. Efforts to make SU accessible were further demonstrated by

the incorporation of real time interpreting into the language specification in 2014. The 2014 policy incorporated “i=real time interpreting” and also duplicated classes in English and Afrikaans as part of a specification in its plans. According to SU this model was designed to be more inclusive by providing an immediate interpretation of the lecture in real time. For example, in lectures where the lecturer used Afrikaans as a medium to teach, an individual from the interpreting services was appointed to translate the lecture for students who have weak or no Afrikaans in their repertoire.

For this model, a new specification was developed and classified as follows:

- A+E referred to the use of English and Afrikaans for separate class groups in a specific module
- A+I to the use of Afrikaans in a lecture in a specific module but with real time educational interpreting into English for each student in the module.
- E+I referred to the use of English as a lecturing language a specific module but with real time educational interpreting in English for each student in the module.

Noticeable changes in the 2014 policy highlighted a shift to an official position where English and Afrikaans were given equal status. Afrikaans was no longer a standalone language that received special attention. Based on the lecturers preferred language, an interpreting service was provided for students either in English or Afrikaans. The specifications above indicated saw gradual steps to introduce English as equal to Afrikaans. Supposedly this was Stellenbosch University’s attempts to be inclusive by providing lectures in English and Afrikaans. All this meant was that students enrolling into Stellenbosch University, should have English and or Afrikaans in their repertoire.

3.3 Changes in the language policies

The use of language instruction in Stellenbosch University has dramatically changed over time due to the mandate to review the policy every five years or sooner. In the language policy of 2002, Afrikaans was the default language of all undergraduate learning and instruction also used “in all circumstances as the language of internal communication” (Stellenbosch University, 2002). In 2014, the broad language policy remained the same but the specifics in the language plan in terms of how the policy is implemented at undergraduate level changed over time. The official position made English and Afrikaans equal languages at undergraduate level (Stellenbosch University, 2014). This reflected a gradual shift to English where lecturers did not have to motivate the use of English. The 2016 policy marked a clear shift in that it was

stated that all information conveyed was conveyed in English. To address these challenges, the plans that followed particularly after 2016, were the practical manifestations of the processes led on from the language policy where a university wide language policy was developed but the responsibility for planning and implementation was delegated to the faculties. Each faculty had to develop their language implementation plan below the university language policy. The changes in the demographics, was a key principle behind the changes in the policies which continuously pushed SU to develop and transform to make the university accessible to all everyone.

The essence of 2002 language policy was a sustained commitment and development of Afrikaans as an academic language in a multicultural context in a manner that is, directed towards gaining knowledge and engaging a diverse society (Stellenbosch University, 2002). When the models such as the parallel medium, T-option and real time interpreting were introduced, Stellenbosch University shifted the focus of the essence of the language policy to include the “advancement of multilingualism on both institutional and individual level” (Stellenbosch University, 2014). The policy indicated that it aimed to uphold its commitment to safeguarding and sustaining the development of Afrikaans as an academic language while acknowledging the multicultural context at Stellenbosch University. To this end, teaching offerings in English was increased to enable optimal learning for everyone at the university.

A piece of information that was interesting to note was how the university indicated that they would invest in the advancement of isiXhosa as academic language and a language of social engagement. The 2014 language policy explicitly indicated that SU would push for a more multilingual and multicultural environment where other indigenous languages including isiXhosa was recognised as one of the official languages of the university alongside English and Afrikaans. I critic this by arguing that the idea of developing isiXhosa as a language at SU is a romantic idea of multilingualism that the language policy invoked. It is difficult to fund and maintain a bilingual university, so the idea of having a trilingual university is farfetched. Conversely, English as a language of teaching and learning was continuously developed and promoted as the dominant priority academic language at SU particularly because many people from indigenous South African languages commonly speak English than Afrikaans.

The 2016 language policy acknowledged the international value of English and its local function in creating access to many previously disadvantaged individuals (Stellenbosch University, 2016). The increase in the use of English at Stellenbosch University, resulted in outcries from Afrikaans speaking groups who suggested that multilingualism should not mean the demise of Afrikaans as a language of teaching and learning. Their concerns were met with

protests from students and in 2015, a massive protest erupted. In the beginning of 2015, Open Stellenbosch gained awareness which was influenced by #RhodesMustFall movements at the University of Cape Town. The main concerns of the protest, driven by the student collective, Open Stellenbosch, argued that access to resources for black students at Stellenbosch University was limited. Towards the end of 2015, the #feesmustfall student protest across universities in South Africa, made Open Stellenbosch a bigger movement on Stellenbosch campus. For example, the reason they noted was that the institutional culture privileged by white English and Afrikaans bilingual students and was visible in events such as “skakels”². In the wake of the protest, a video “Luister” (when translated into English means Listen) was released. The documentary was about the lives of students of colour at Stellenbosch University. In the video, students narrated their experiences of racial prejudice not only on campus but in the wider Stellenbosch town (Contraband Cape Town, 2015). Furthermore, the documentary highlighted student sentiments about Afrikaans as a language and a culture and how racism was reinvented perpetuated through cultural exclusion.

I do not know whether SU expected the protest to gain the support it did. However, since the protest, Stellenbosch University increasingly dedicated resources to achieving a university wide language policy but delegated the planning to faculties which saw the increase in the use of English as a language of teaching especially in undergraduate levels. Since then, the increase in the number of black students at Stellenbosch University who do not have Afrikaans in their repertoire, suggests that SU took the concerns of the student collective seriously which to an extent, led to changes in the 2016 language policy.

Following the developments at that time, SU drafted a new approach to language which it claims welcomed inclusivity and diversity as the core values of the multilingual and multicultural environment they were aiming to create (Stellenbosch University, 2016). The new approach to language claimed to acknowledge the changes in the language and racial demographic of the student and staff population. For this reason, the approach was aimed at being inclusive by seemingly advancing Afrikaans and English whilst also developing isiXhosa as a language of engagement at the university (Stellenbosch University, 2016).

The sensitivity of language at SU and arguably the slow change in the language policy is an influence of how Stellenbosch University wishes to be portrayed in the Afrikaans media. Pressure from different language categories and also the public who wanted a shift away from Afrikaans, influenced many of the university’s decision to redesign the language policy in fear

² Skakel is a formal or informal social gathering where two or more residence meet to socialise often male and female residences.

of getting labelled as a space that deliberately condones an institutional culture that is influenced by Afrikaans. The gradual steps to the point where Afrikaans is no longer the dominant priority language, I propose was due to student-led protest movements and the increase of English-speaking students particularly black English-speaking students who do not have Afrikaans in their repertoire.

3.3.1 Multilingualism: Evolving language policies

The demographic changes potentially led to the changes in the language policy at Stellenbosch University from the previous policy where English and Afrikaans were given equal status, to a policy that explicitly states that all information conveyed is conveyed in English. This I suggest was a sign that SU acknowledged the value of English as an international language but more locally as a second language lingua franca in higher education language which furthermore proved that Stellenbosch University wanted to compete academically on an international level.

Stellenbosch University consist of students from multiple language backgrounds including international students from Africa and other continents. By continuously changing the language policies, SU aimed to compete internationally and be recognition as an inclusive and welcoming university. However, becoming a true bilingual institution (making English and Afrikaans equal languages of teaching), resources would have to be provided in both languages. Purser, Van der Walt and Brink argue that for an institution to become truly bilingual would be more expensive to run than monolingual institutions (Purser, 2000; Van der Walt & Brink, 2005; cited in Hill, 2009: 332). Reading materials, teaching equipment would need to be translated into languages introduced into the system. In that case, an argument that may arise is the feasibility of a multilingual institution. Since majority of students are proficient in English, maintaining English as the sole language at SU will be less costly because no translating devices are needed.

Nonetheless, the sustained use of Afrikaans at SU is contested. Categories of English enthusiasts recommend that English should be the medium of instruction. The idea that there is “no other language [with] so much educational material available as in English” (Brink, 2006 cited in Hill, 2009: 333), establishes English as a global language of science. Lee and Norton (2009, cited in Parmegiani, 2012: 77) indicated their criticism of English by saying that it is a “double-edged sword”. They explained that English is a language that excludes people because it produces social stratification. For example, English is continuously appropriated by non-native speakers who are using it in ways that deviates from the supposedly “standard” English-

thus English becomes a socio-economic marker used as a mechanism to exclude whilst maintaining the gap between the “haves and the “have nots” (Parmegiani, 2012: 79–81)

As SU aims to compete globally in teaching and research, English is continuously presented as a language that caters for everyone. The global reach of English can be observed at SU where English is used to produce knowledge and acts as a mechanism for spreading knowledge. English not only acts as a language for spreading knowledge but also a language of communication. At SU the steps towards English, forces native language speakers in a lot of social settings to push away their home language and use English to communicate.

A claim by Parmegiani (2012: 86) that black South Africans are using English more and more, suggests that black South Africans with mother tongues other than English or Afrikaans are using English together their native languages which expands their language repertoire. This becomes a quantitative issue as well. Adding more languages to one’s repertoire does not mean that they are experts in that language, rather they have weak language capacity in that language. The same is applicable in the South African context. Students’ ability to use their home language together with English does not mean that they have strong command of English. Even so, the preeminent status of English as a global language- international and local lingua franca has shaped communication between native and non-native English speakers making it easier for people to communicate (Ng & Deng, 2017: 5). English is one of the languages commonly spoken by many people in the world, this reflects the power of English to influence society, not because of its linguistic superiority but rather because it is a language of great value and at Stellenbosch it becomes a “language of inclusion” (Parmegiani, 2012: 86).

The recognition of the value of English noted in the language policy adopted in 2016, highlights English as a language with significant academic, business and international value. The shift from Afrikaans to English was gradual and a lot of discussion occurred that facilitated this change. A major difference in the 2016 language policy compared to the previous language policies was that the 2016 policy specifically stated that “all information conveyed is conveyed in English or, time permitting, in both English and (wholly or partly) in Afrikaans” (Stellenbosch University, 2016). The adoption of the new language policy meant that there was a shift to English. The university wide language policy that delegated the planning of the policy to faculties I suggest, was aimed at addressing diversity and transformation in the macro and microstructures of the university. The policy recognises English as a language of inclusion and an academically viable option but not necessarily in the residences. The language shifts occurring in classrooms does not mean the same shifts are happening in residences because residences are in a different domain of campus life which I am exploring. The use of languages

in private versus public communication in residences, differs based on who is communicating, why they communicate and how they communicate. As language in residences cannot be policed, students are at the liberty to use any language in their repertoire, depending on the context that enables the language use.

3.3.2 Transforming Stellenbosch University from an Afrikaans institution to a multicultural space

The remnants of apartheid in many ways still haunt many previous Afrikaans universities including SU. There are allegations of racism, discrimination, exclusion based on language and institutionalised practices in residences practices that have painted many HAUs as racist environments. As a result, there has been an ongoing language debate that has spread through many campuses in South Africa especially Stellenbosch University. The ongoing language debate at Stellenbosch University is a result of the language policies and practices that have raised concerns from Afrikaans lobbyists who disagreed with the language policies that saw English as the dominant priority language of teaching at SU. Their criticism about the policy suggests that they are concerned that Afrikaans would gradually lose its status in higher education.

Afrikaans was institutionalised and continuously developed and sustained at Stellenbosch University. Yet, many previously disadvantaged people indicated that Afrikaans as a language was oppressive and used as a tool by the apartheid government to create a hierarchy in the apartheid society. Afrikaans as a language used by the apartheid government to create inequality resulted in many black family's exclusion from higher education. Post-apartheid, many black students who do not have Afrikaans in their repertoire, are frustrated because they apparently cannot speak the language and argue that access to certain spaces and resources at SU is limited because of their inability to skilfully use Afrikaans.

Although institutional culture is influenced by colonialism and apartheid, constant pressure from the public, some staff and mostly black students, forced SU to rethink and implement new structures and policies that would affect institutional practices. Since the 2002 language policy, SU has had to change their approach to language. English was continuously presented as a language that would improve student mobility at SU and globally. Since then, a lot of time and resources has gone into developing the language policy which suggests attempts aimed at address issues of inequality and discrimination so that every student would have the same opportunities to academic success.

Regardless of efforts by SU to make the university inclusive by conveying all information in the classroom in English, there are many frustrated voices including some conservative alumni who expressed discontent with the fact that Stellenbosch University ignored their concerns to not discard Afrikaans as the default language in SU. Their concerns were expressed in public debates, newsletters and in court. However, their concerns were met with criticism that raised questions about Stellenbosch and who can access Stellenbosch University and if the university was only reserved for Afrikaans speakers.

In 2016, Open Stellenbosch made waves on the Stellenbosch campus when they protested access to education in Stellenbosch University. The protest #feesmustfall also made international headlines. The protest shed light on issues many people still face in post-apartheid South Africa. Some of the issues highlighted in the protest includes right to access and affordability of studying especially if the students cannot afford to pay the exorbitant study fees.

The main argument of Open Stellenbosch was about access to resources at SU. They pointed out the limitation to access for students which was mainly linked to study fees students had to pay. Specific mention was made to black students who could not afford to pay the fees as a result of the inequality of the past where because they were disadvantaged in the past, they did not have the same work and study opportunities that white people have, so their parents are not able to afford to send them to universities. Many of them depend on state funding and some receive bursaries from Stellenbosch University, yet they raise concerns that they are unable to meet the financial requirements to sustain a life in university. Moreover, they also argued for a reduced study fee for all students not just black students.

The protest that caused disruptions to lectures, tests and exams in 2015, raised further concerns about the proportion of white students compared to the number of black students. They suggested that SU was too white and too Afrikaans thus inviting a conversation on language rights, identity and right to access (Van der Waal & Du Toit, 2018: 451). The push by the collective student group forced the management of Stellenbosch University to revisit their policies. The change in the language policy caused concern in many Afrikaans speaking communities who had envisioned a home for Afrikaans at SU.

Some of the members of this elite Afrikaans speaking community claim that Stellenbosch University as an institution was established because an Afrikaner by the name Jannie Marais donated money to the university. Further, they argue that the status of Afrikaans is declining. However, in the private domain Afrikaans is a strong cultural language but in higher education, the language is used less than it was. Their concerns that Afrikaans would lose its status, is an issue they wanted SU to consider when implementing changes. This type of reasoning is what

the student collective, Open Stellenbosch challenged. They had identified Afrikaans as a language barrier to the necessary resource needed to excel at SU.

In their efforts to transform Stellenbosch University, Open Stellenbosch continuously challenged the dominant position of Afrikaans as a language institutionalised in the culture and practices at SU. They argued for a space where all students, black and white will have the same opportunities to excel in their studies which was not limited by their language abilities. Furthermore, they challenged deeply rooted practices and ideologies which they felt were influenced by the older Afrikaans generation and transferred to the younger generation who reinvented and perpetuated those practices in spaces at SU. The pressure on SU to address the challenges students faced was intensified when Contraband, a media company in Cape Town South Africa that deals with social issues particularly interests of young people, produced “luister”. The film was a collaboration with Open Stellenbosch, a student collective that actively pushed for transformation by telling “stories of students and letting people know what [was] going on [at Stellenbosch University]” (Contraband Cape Town, 2015).

Transforming higher education in South Africa has been the driver of institutional change in universities. Pattman and Carolissen (2018: 1) define transformation in higher education as changing institutional culture by altering underlying beliefs and values. This includes changes in academics, demographics, politics and culture of the university life, which intentionally enables a process where fundamental changes occur, ultimately changing identity and ideologies of the institution. According to Oloyede (2009: 427), transformation in the university context is explained as the breaking down of racial barriers to include and provide opportunities for previously disadvantaged students and staff members in spaces that were previously overwhelmed by white students and staff.

After the 1994 democratic election and as universities transformed, it became increasingly difficult to maintain a special place for Afrikaans (Van der Waal & Du Toit, 2018: 453). The privilege of Afrikaans was a concern to the processes of transforming higher education. At Stellenbosch University, Afrikaans was critiqued because it excluded students who did not have Afrikaans in their repertoire. In the language debate, there were different positions on the possibilities of using Afrikaans in a more inclusive way.

The taaldebat, also consisted of people who supported the gradual steps towards English as a dominant priority language at SU. However, certain supporter for Afrikaans as a language at SU argued that their efforts to sustain Afrikaans was not necessarily based on ethnicity. However, there were many white Afrikaans speakers who used the language debate as a platform to put forward ideas that exhibited elements of “white ethno-nationalism, expressed

in essentialist notion of language and identity” (Van der Waal & Du Toit, 2018: 453). In the language debate, certain Afrikaans speakers claimed that they wanted to defend Afrikaans since the environment is demographically Afrikaans speaking. It became evident in the motions that they put forward, that their liberation of Afrikaans was essentially because they were interested in protecting white Afrikaans privilege at SU.

The attempt to unite Afrikaans speaking community was not as successful as many white supporters of Afrikaans at SU envisioned. There was a lack of solidarity among different users of Afrikaans. The support base for retaining Afrikaans at SU diminished. The reasons for the lack of support I suggest was due to the influences of old white Afrikaner traditions which is embedded in Afrikaans.

As the number of students who have English in their repertoire increase, the older Afrikaans generation who hold strongly to Afrikaans and sort to preserve it in Stellenbosch University continuously challenge English as the dominant preferred language at SU. This feeling stems from a deep fear and emotional attachment many of the older generation have for SU. However, the changing demographic of Stellenbosch University calls for a more inclusive environment. The need to create a diverse environment where all students have the same opportunity is the aim of transforming Stellenbosch University. Moreover, many individuals and groups who desired SU to be a safe haven for Afrikaans were not pleased with the new transformation discourse because they see it as a betrayal to the glory days when SU was purely white and Afrikaans.

According to the SU transformation plan, SU transformation objectives is striving towards a welcoming campus culture that will make all students, staff and visitors feel at home, irrespective of origin, ethnicity, language, gender, religious and political conviction, social class, disability or sexual orientation. This includes creating a multicultural environment that enables a variety of cultures to meet and learn from one another (Stellenbosch University, 2013a).

Whether or not this is achievable is yet to be determined. However, the effect of the transformation plan on SU meant that Afrikaans would no longer maintain a dominant position in SU. Language was identified as a crucial element in transformation and for the university to be inclusive, a revision of the language policy needed to occur. Although progress has been made in transforming Stellenbosch University, many students and staff are unhappy with the pace of the progress. They argue that Stellenbosch University is still very Afrikaans and white. However, there is data showing that the percentage of black, coloured and Indian students

increased from 24% in 2008 to 34% in 2015 while first language Afrikaans speakers decreased from 53% in 2009 to 48% in 2013 (Van der Waal & Du Toit, 2018: 458).

What this shows is that there has been a significant decrease in the amount of Afrikaans speaking students enrolled at Stellenbosch. Yet there is unhappiness about whiteness and Afrikaans at SU. There are several reasons why many black students and staff feel a resentment towards the SU environment. Among the reasons identified by black students was that social and residential spaces are not welcoming because those spaces are still influenced by the white Afrikaans minority.

There have been cases of black students, who did not feel comfortable attending mentoring sessions, dropping out of their mentoring groups because the language of conversation in those spaces, was mainly in Afrikaans (Contraband Cape Town, 2015). The use of language outside the classroom is just as important of the use of language in the classroom. This is because majority of students socialise outside of the classroom hence the importance to facilitate an environment that promotes social cohesion, language diversity and inclusiveness.

3.4 Post-apartheid residence transformation at Stellenbosch University

3.4.1 Why, when and how of residence placement policy

In the ongoing debate centred on language, many questions about what the university is doing to cater for people, both students and staff from language backgrounds other than English and Afrikaans beyond the classroom is asked. Transformation in university residences is a debate that is ongoing especially after the incident that occurred in the University of the Free State in 2007. People including students, staff and the public questioned why and how young students who had no history in apartheid could commit such extremely racist acts.

The alarming event caused for a deeper analysis on transformation in residences. Blatant racism in university residences across South Africa needs addressing to prevent such incidences from occurring again. In Stellenbosch University, an incident of racism occurred that raised awareness of the marginalisation and discrimination of black people in residences. The extract below is taken from an interview with an informant which details an incident that occurred in a Stellenbosch University residence:

“not too long ago, a university residence was investigated for what seemed to be a racial incident. During a “pa en seun naweek³ in one of the male residences, which I will not mention to protect their image, students get to enjoy spending time with their fathers because some of them do not get to go home regularly. We allow this type of interaction in the residences so that parents who did not attend Stellenbosch University can experience what it feels like being a Matie⁴. However, it came to our attention that some of the fathers of the students were old boys of the residence, so they had a comradeship growing up in that space. According to the reports, some of the fathers started singing the old Afrikaner national anthem. What was disturbing was that some students joined in to sing the anthem....it is frustrating to see that the efforts we in a transforming university are making to move forward is held back by certain groups of people from a culture that has oppressed people in the past. It seems as though they have not learned from the past” (I1).

This extract from one of the interviews with respondent I1 indicates some issues including racism and segregation that HAUs are grappling with. The incident raised many concerns as to how a HAU can truly transform to be inclusive and not oppressive. What was astonishing was that the students who joined to sing the songs were all born after 1994 when South Africa was declared a democratic state. That incident showed that actions such as discrimination and oppression can be transferred from one generation to the next and in order to keep transforming, these actions need to be unlearned.

The residence placement policy describes the allocation of students into different residences and the criteria needed to do so. The policy for placing students in residence is designed to accommodate all students who are looking to apply for a room in the residence. The vision, mission and objective of the policy is to give all students the same out-of-classroom experience that will be meaningful and contribute to their success which is achieved by strategically placing and allocating students in sound diverse communities that will contribute to optimal growth and development in the out-of-class experience, leading to academic success (Stellenbosch University, 2013b).

Every year many students apply for placement in one of the student residences of the University, while many are not accepted, those who are accepted, live in the same space with other students

³ Pa en seun naweek is weekend in a residence where the father of a child gets to stay in the residence with them, just to experience the atmosphere of staying in the residence with their child.

⁴ A matie is an informal name used to refer to students of Stellenbosch University

from dissimilar backgrounds. The university student residence contributes to students out of classroom experience, it is a space where students spend most of their time as this is their home away from home. There is a need to critically engage these spaces to provide a different perspective on transformation. Misconception about transformation in institutions such as universities is that transformation merely entails inclusion of people of colour in in these institutions. While this may be true that diversification is part of transformation, Pieterse, (2005: 159), argues that transformation should be the transforming of the entire society from the legacy of apartheid that deeply divided people, restructuring formal and social structures of apartheid that cause and reinforced inequality. Therefore, transformation should focus on social justice, equality, dignity and freedom.

3.4.2 Recruiting: The placement policy and the recruitment process

While it is noted in the placement policy that the main aim is to promote excellence through diversity, I could not help but ask myself, what is meant by diversity and why is there an overwhelming majority of white students in the university and in residences? The answers to these questions were uncovered in the interviews which evidently suggested that diversity simply meant increasing the number of students of colour in the residence spaces and not so much how these “diverse” group of students engage and interact within themselves in that space.

Yet, with all the efforts made to diversify residences, many of the residences at SU are comprised majority white students. Respondent I1 explained that despite the efforts of changing the placement policy to be more inclusive by enrolling more vulnerable and black students,

“black students don’t necessarily want to come to Stellenbosch...what we find is that black students apply to other universities like Rhodes and UCT where English as a medium for teaching and instructing is not contested so they will feel more welcomed...if they are accepted in one of the other universities, they prefer going there ...what then happens is that the selection pool for placing students in residence is narrowed which increases the population of white Afrikaans students in residences” (I1).

The fact that black students navigate their application process in this way suggests that black students assume that SU is still a place where white Afrikaans students go. Surprisingly, black students who eventually come to SU are shocked when they arrive and realise that English is the medium of instruction and many practices that sustained Afrikaans as an institutional culture

have changed. On the other hand, white Afrikaans students who come to SU expecting to enjoy a “safe heaven” for Afrikaans are surprised when they realise that Afrikaans as an institutional language at SU is declining.

The residence placement policy ensures that first year students are prioritized. In the process of allocating residential spaces, newcomers to SU are placed first because they are categorised as vulnerable students. Respondent I2 informed me that vulnerable students are referred to as students who need as much help as they can get in order to successfully navigate their time at SU. However, being a first year and thus a vulnerable student does not guarantee them a place in residence. Although these students were given preference, they still had to obtain the required mark to make the cut of 80 percent in their last year of high school. This alludes to the importance of academic merit and class when placing students in residence.

I2 also noted that there are other various factors besides academic merit that are considered when allocating students to residences. These factors include HEMIS⁵, the age and year of study of a student. So, if a student is considered as a senior student, they are transferred to a senior residence. so that there is more space in undergraduate residences for first time in-coming students. when allocating vulnerable students, race, gender, finances and program of study are considered.

At the top of the list of vulnerable students are black students. The reason I2 explained was that many black students come from “disadvantaged homes” (I2). He clarified that student who come from disadvantaged homes are “financially needy and they are mostly BCI students who are from home where they cannot afford to pay for their studies...so the university places them in one the residences so that they can be freed form the financial burden of accommodation” (I2).

Besides financially needy students, students who are also considered as vulnerable students are in Extended Degree Program commonly, known as EDP students. These are student who obtain low marks in high school but still qualify for admittance to university. EDP students are allocated spaces in residences because they apparently would not cope with the academic stress if they do not have residence on campus (Stellenbosch University, 2013b).

Considering all the factors mentioned above, SU supposedly wants to make the student population in residences more diverse. To reach their goal of diversifying residences, SU apparently wanted to obtain a balanced ration of black and white students in residences.

⁵ HEMIS stands for Higher Education Information system. It is a commonly used acronym to refer to the percentage or credit student’s needs for re-admission or residence allocation.

However, categories of race are nuanced especially since Stellenbosch University is comprised of foreign nationals. The statement that SU wants to achieve a residence where there are “50 / 50 ratio of colour in our residences” (I2), the respondent suggests that race is viewed as rigid category that is intrinsic. On the contrary, the policy suggests that an important objective is to allocate students in such a way that will contribute positively to the formation of sound, diverse communities that will in turn contribute to the optimal growth and development in the out-of-class context (Stellenbosch University, 2013b)

When asked about how the placement policy takes language into account, the response revealed that in addition to reserving 50 percent of residence spaces for white students, the university also wanted to maintain “50 percent Afrikaans speakers and 50 percent other languages” (I2). Respondent I2’s response seemed to suggest that Afrikaans is still a language that SU wants to protect and while the language policy says that all information conveyed is conveyed in English, it makes no reference to how language in social and residential spaces are used. Except the vulnerable students, majority of black students opt to stay in private accommodation because they apparently do not want to immerse themselves in traditions and practices that is supposedly discriminatory. This then means that Afrikaans white students who can afford places in residences apply and move into residences. The informant made it clear that when the dust settles, residences operate like businesses and they must find students who are willing to occupy places in residences so that the university does not make a loss.

The rest of the interview reveals how the placement division deals with the residence finances of the students. As it turns out, every student once accepted and placed in the residence must pay a deposit which is payable before a date specified on the application form. If they are sponsored or on bursary, the bursary office handles their deposit. The rest of the money is paid at registration but as far as the financially needy students are concerned (BCI students), they must contact the division so that they can get an extension or inquire whether the university has funding so that they can still reserve the space in the residence. When students do not meet the required date, they are informed that their application will be terminated. Once this process happens, they are required to find private housing if they intend to live close to campus.

Private accommodation is independent of the university and it is the responsibility of the student to organise their own accommodation. As soon students staying privately are registered at SU, they are allocated a Private Student Organisations (PSO). The structure of a PSO is the same as that of a residence but the only difference is that the students do not stay in residence. In addition, the structure of a PSO is centred on the same principles as that of a residence in terms of the student body. There is an *inwonede hoof* (Resident Head), the *Primarius* (Prim), *Onder-*

Prim (Vice-Prim) and then the Huis Kommittee (House Committee). Their function is supposed to be the same as that of residences, which is to facilitate and organise meaningful interactions with the students. This is supposed to help promote an environment where the students can thrive and achieve excellence which falls part of their out of classroom experience.

3.5 Conclusion

At Stellenbosch University, language policy changes were gradual. In 2002, Afrikaans was the default language at SU. The 2014 policy, accredited equal status to English and Afrikaans. In 2016, a new policy explicitly stating that “all information conveyed is conveyed in English” was developed. These policies primarily focused on language at an undergraduate level particularly in the classroom.

Since 2002, the number of black students enrolled at SU increased. However, questions regarding inclusivity soon followed. The focus of the language policies was on how to best implement English and Afrikaans at SU. Besides the idea that English and Afrikaans are used as measure for accepting students into Stellenbosch University, the policies do not account for students who have weak English and Afrikaans in their repertoire. The policies have apparently been restructured to be more inclusive by considering that most students feel comfortable learning in English. The 2002 language policy specifically catered for Afrikaans and was implemented and sustained as a language of teaching and learning.

For many years, Afrikaans was not contested as the language of teaching and learning. However, the concerns of the public and student collective Open Stellenbosch that Stellenbosch University was not inclusive steered the language policy to different directions that moved Afrikaans as the default language to a policy that observed and acknowledge demographic changes at SU. The more inclusive approach taken by the university was based on the growing criticism that Stellenbosch University was too white and too Afrikaans and that Afrikaans as a language catered for a minority population. As a result, there is an ongoing language debate where opposing language groups gather to debate language in SU.

In the debate, there are many arguments from Afrikaans speakers which argue to retain Afrikaans as the default language in SU. The emphasis that the multilingual approach that SU is taking will result in language conflict on SU. Furthermore, in the debate some Afrikaans speaking individuals claim that SU is the only institution that can protect Afrikaans as an academic language because of the changing student population. Therefore, SU runs the risk of excluding Afrikaans and diminishing is potential to grow further as an academic language.

The taaldebat primarily focuses on teaching and learning in the classroom environment. Language in social spaces is also important because social spaces form the pathways through which students navigate their university experience. Besides classrooms, students engage and interact in residences. The residence placement policy aims to promote excellence through diversity of students who stay in residences. This implies that Stellenbosch University's aim is to increase the number of black people so that university residences are less white and more multicultural and multiracial is not supported by everyone.

Residences provide accommodation to students from dissimilar racial, ethnic, religion class and language background. As noted in this chapter, part of the residence placement plan is to accommodate special placements. These are students who are at risk including financially. The university acknowledges that part of student's success is optimised by the environment where they live. By having a special placement, the university tries to minimise the risk of not achieving success in their academic careers many students face.

Both the language and residence placement policies have responded to pressure over time. Nonetheless, the policies have represented transformation and diversity in a superficial manner, as statistical changes, yet, the institutional culture of the university indicates that deep change has not occurred. Students are a central part to SU, and it is therefore important that policies are revised periodically based on the experiences of students. The experiences of students staying in residences are unique to informing transformation because they live and experience residential spaces daily. Residences form part of the classroom experience and it is vital that transformation in residences is critically examined and discussed based on students' experiences so that care is taken when implementing policy changes. Chapter 4 introduces the residence in the study and engages with students who discuss their experience living in an SU residence. Their responses are explained in the next chapter and considered in the final discussion of transformation.

Chapter 4: Experiencing Helshoogte men's koshuis as part of a broader Stellenbosch University residence system

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce Helshoogte as part of a broader residence system at Stellenbosch University. I draw on observations and interviews to describe the residential space at Helshoogte. In addition, the semi-structured interviews with the participants are used to explore language as an aspect of transformation. Together with my observations, I used the responses of the participants to examine how students interact with the space and to what extent their experiences suggest transformation in a historically Afrikaans residence.

Throughout this chapter, I use relevant extracts from the interviews with the participants and my observation in the residence to understand life in Helshoogte. To support points raised in this chapter, responses from participants that speaks to the relevant sections are used. To ensure the confidentiality and identity of the participants are protected, I anonymise them by using in S to identify the students and I to identify staff respondents.

Pressure from students, donors and governmental agencies, have influenced changes in SU's language and residence placement policies. Criticism raised suggests that the policies catered for bilingual English and Afrikaans students. The continuous pressure from the afore mentioned groups, resulted in changes not only in the policies, but has also gradually influenced institutional culture at SU. Students are more active in discussions and aware of platforms where they can voice their discontent on issues that discriminates and marginalises them.

The voices of the students in residences have also created awareness on issues including, sexism, racism, assaults, etc that happen in residential spaces. Responses from SU about the issues raised by students and their constituents, suggests that transformation is a major aspect of the future of Stellenbosch.

In informal conversations with students, concerns were raised on how the university engaged diversity and transformation-as quantifiable units which simply means the increase of black students. Just to note, these conversations occurred around the same time of my data collection which was from September 2018 until March 2019.

I stress that it is important to measure the increase of number of black students and staff at Stellenbosch University because it makes diversity and transformation tangible yet, it is also

important that experiences of staff and students particularly in residences is used to measure change at Stellenbosch University.

This chapter examines transformation as a process beyond language use, as an institutional culture that is produced or reinvented in different ways that continues to discriminate and excluded some students. Developing a policy that considers every aspect of every student such as race, class, gender home language is difficult to achieve. Students differ significantly yet in certain spaces at Stellenbosch University, one's skin colour is a marker of identification. Noted by a student in the Luister video "the colour of my skin in Stellenbosch is like a social burden" (Contraband Cape Town, 2015). The concern that skin colour is a social burden indicates serious issues of privilege. I therefore propose that experience of students particularly in residences should be engaged to see to what extent shift in policies affects those spaces. I use their stories to present analysis of concepts such as, identity, integration, socialisation and language as they hold value to students especially in residence.

4.2 Backgrounds of students living in Helshoogte

The identity of Helshoogte is important because it sets this residence apart from other residences and adds to the overall institutional culture at Stellenbosch University. The identity of Helshoogte is influenced by the students, the symbols, values and norms the residence aims to promote. Before becoming a member of Helshoogte, students need to apply via an online year before their intended year of study.

When applying to be a member of Helshoogte, students need to indicate at least two other residences in their application because there is not guarantee that they will get placed in their preferred residence given that "we (SU) do not do the placements by hand, it is done automatically by a system which is why students are informed that placement is completely random it is stipulated in the residence placement policy that no student is guaranteed the residence of their choice" (I2). Beyond the formal process of becoming part of a residence, students opting to stay in residences or privately at Stellenbosch University become part of a hierarchical system.

In chapter 2, I provided a taxonomy of residences and explained the differences and similarities of Private Student Organisations and formal residences. The distinct attribute of residence hierarchal structure is that the caretaker who is commonly referred to as the resident head, lives near the residence.

4.2.1 Student Structure of Helshoogte

Figure 2 illustrates the hierarchical structures of residences at Stellenbosch University including Helshoogte. In Helshoogte, students are placed under the supervision of a Resident Head who is commonly referred to as House Mother or House Father depending on the gender of the residence. The resident heads are often lecturers, staff or graduates of the university who either stay in the residence or near the residence. These individuals are tasked with supervising the affairs of the residence, they also act as the guardians and enforcers of rules in the residence. They make sure that information from the management of the university is passed on to students and that the students abide by the unwritten rules and regulations. On a personal level, resident heads act as someone that the students can approach and discuss their problems with. If the resident head is not able to help, students are referred to someone in the university that is able to assist them with their problem. Below the resident head is the Primarius and the Vice-Primarius. Their duties include facilitating meetings and assigning tasks to different individuals in the residence. In the structure, information from the university flows from the resident head to the Prim and Onder-prim. It is their duty to make sure that the information is circulated to every student in the residence. Below the president and vice president are student leaders referred to as the HK which stands for Huis Komitee or House Committee. HK members are comprised of senior students who have lived in the residence for a minimum of one year. They are appointed because their knowledge of the residence structure helps in seeing to the overall functioning of the residence.

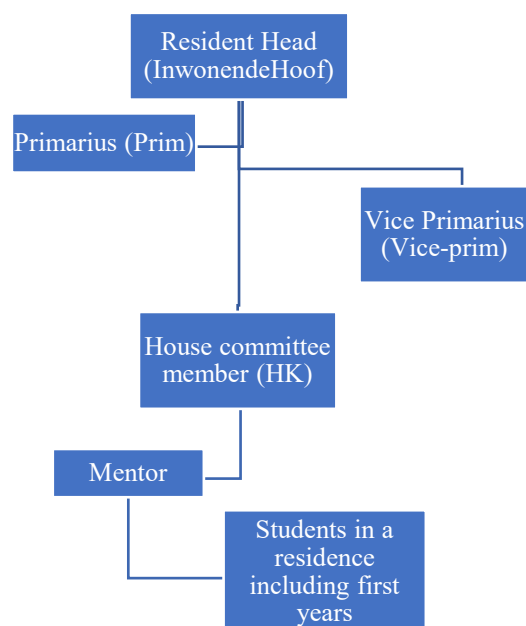


Figure 2: Structures of residences at Stellenbosch University.

As part of the student structure in residence, the HK organise the orientation week for incoming first year students. They make sure that all the necessary procedures are put in place to welcome the new students. HK's are very important to the overall structure of residences because they make and implement rules and they control all the events and happening in the residences. Each HK member oversees a different portfolio including, e.g. first year, second year, finance, social, sports, culture, academic, media and communication. It is therefore the duty of HK's to work together to ensure that students are catered for and are not marginalised.

Working together with the HK's are the mentors. The mentors are senior students in the residence who apply and are voted in by students in the residence. Although their power to influence the overall happening in residence is not as much as that of the individuals above them, they are valuable to the residences. Due to the large numbers of first years, mentors are employed to help manage the first years. All incoming students are assigned a mentor and the job of the mentor is to help orientate the student into the new environment. If the mentor cannot help the student, the matter is referred to the HK's and then to the Prim or Onder-prime, then resident head and if the issue cannot be resolved, the resident head refers the issue to a university staff member. The structure of the residence is therefore important for understanding how communication affects interaction in Helshoogte.

Helshoogte is comprised of student who have "different upbringings" (S4). The reason why there are students with supposedly different upbringings is that when students are placed in residences, they are placed according to different categories which means that first year students going into the residence will not know who their roommates are going to be until they arrive at Helshoogte. In the residence, there are students from "rural areas in south Africa...who are on bursary just like many of us here" (S3) and are likely to be "placed in the same room with rich boys" (S1) which I suggest would likely pose challenges for students entering the space for the first time. My concerns about the challenges that students from different background who are placed in the same living quarters might face, was further provoked in an interview with S4 when he told me that:

"in the beginning it is difficult because you don't know what to expect, you have no idea who the person you will be practically living next to is. You know nothing about their lives, where they come from about their family, all you know about them is by looking at them you can see if they are black or white or coloured or Indian. You can also sometimes tell if they are English or Afrikaans. With the black students, it is difficult to say which language tribe they come from because they can be Xhosa, Zulu or even somewhere from Africa" (S4).

S4's background is unique because he comes from a different African country. In this interview, I observed his frustrations through his body language and verbal expressions. He explained that his frustrations were influenced by the difficulties he had in the beginning "fitting" into an environment that he felt intimidated entering because he is not of South African origins. As the interview went on, S4 clarified that with the passing of time, he became more friendly and open with his roommate who is white and Afrikaans. S4 indicated that "it was quite cool living with him [because] we made it our mission to get to know each other...we both did electrical engineering, so we had things to talk about and then we started getting to know more about each other" (S4).

Their effort of getting to know each other was from both sides which made it possible for them to "build and sustain a long-lasting friendship" (S4). The making and keeping of friendship in Helshoogte varies from one individual to the next. Students who attended high school in a multicultural, multiracial and multilingual environment, might find it easier adjusting to living with someone who is different from them. The reason why they might find it easier is because of their experience in the diverse background. It is possible that students with little experience in a diverse environment, might find it more difficult to adjust to the residence environment where they must live with someone completely different to them.

The participant suggests that randomly placing students who do not share any similarities with each other will be challenging especially if it is the students first time living away from home. randomly putting individuals from polar ethnicities can result in a hostile living environment for students moving away from their home for the first time. On the other hand, putting two strangers in the same living quarters, can result in an unprecedented living experience where the students can learn about each other, build trust, respect and mutual understanding which they will use to cultivate a meaningful and long-lasting friendship. Consequently, students find it easier to make friends through sports, yet, there are some students in Helshoogte who from their experience, claim that even though they participate in the residence sports, they find it difficult to integrate because of the sport culture in Helshoogte is not welcoming.

4.3 Experiencing Helshoogte Men's Koshuis

4.3.1 Objective description of Helshoogte's space

When the first student agreed to be part of the study, I asked whether I could follow him to the residence and observe the spaces. I wanted to gain access to Helshoogte because I wanted to observe interaction in those spaces and how the space informed socialisation. Access to the

space provided a tangible assessment of Helshoogte which helped my understanding of references the participants made about the space. Going into Helshoogte, I was aware that Helshoogte was a space with students from different backgrounds. I was certain that I was going to encounter students from different races, cultures, class and language. I felt nervous because I did not know how students in that space would react to an “outsider”. The anxiety I faced was because of stories I heard of strong brotherhood in male residences and how people who are not part of the residence are not welcomed in those space because they might reveal secrets of the residence. I had to overcome the anxious feeling because my intention of entering Helshoogte was to objectively observe the space and structures that facilitates interaction and how it suggests transformation.

I was now entering the tallest building at Stellenbosch University. Walking behind the participant and briefly turning back to see if there was someone following me. What I saw was a tank (like the ones used in wars) pointing towards the entrance of the building -pointing at my back-almost as if it was positioned to protect the residence from any intruders. On the ramp leading into the residence, there is a huge painting of a rooster on the floor. I remember thinking to myself, everything about the residences was majestic and macho. The rooster is a symbolic representation of the identity of Helshoogte, the size of the painted rooster was a clear indication that I was entering the home of the “hoenders”.

Once we went through the turning doors and safely inside residence building, I noticed a big hall area to my right. I asked what the purpose of the hall was, and I was informed that it was a dining hall which was also used regularly for house meetings. The dining hall/meeting area is the only space inside the residence building where majority of students can be accommodated at the same time. Other spaces in the residence are not as big as the hall, because of the limited space on each floor. All the floors in the residence share similarities in terms of the rooms, communal spaces, showers and toilets. An observation I found interesting about the shared spaces was that anyone in the residence regardless of the floor they stayed on could access the spaces in the residence.

When we got out of the elevator on the floor where the participant resides, in the communal relaxing area, there were some students who were hanging out and smoking a hooka⁶ while discussing a rugby game that took place over the weekend. The group was an interracial friendship group that consisted of black white and coloured students. They were all speaking English. Although they are from different language groups in South Africa, they used English

⁶ Hooka is an instrument used for smoking flavoured tobacco

to communicate because they had English in their repertoire. I know this because the participant informed me that they were his friends from different provinces in South Africa and “we use English to talk because then it makes it easy for us to communicate” (S1). In that friendship group, neither language nor race seemed to be the issue because they respected and understood that they were different from one another in one way or the other and that by speaking English, everyone could communicate. My observation of the interaction of the students, indicates that the students socialised based on common interest students share with each other. I would like to say that this observation is specific to that context and at that time because in a different context and a different time, the same observation might be different.

4.3.2 Identity and spaces in Helshoogte

The assumed comradery in Helshoogte is based on principles of BRUT value system which stands for Broederskap, Respek, Uitnemendheid en Trots (Helshoogte Mens Residence, n.d.). Translated to English, BRUT stands for Brotherhood, Respect, Excellence and Pride. Helshoogte like many other residences in Stellenbosch University is influenced by Afrikaans culture. The belief system was founded at the time when there were only white majority Afrikaans speaking students in the residence. As a result, many of the traditions were presumably influenced by the Afrikaans culture of that time. Apparently, the value system is aimed at promoting unity among students in the residence regardless of their backgrounds.

Ironically, the BRUT value system, advocates brotherhood, respect and pride yet the language used to convey the values is Afrikaans. Unknowingly, this assumes all students to have Afrikaans in their repertoire which may suggest that the space is reserved for Afrikaans and students who have capability in Afrikaans. For example, the consequence of using only Afrikaans on their webpage, a public platform, is that students and members of the public will think that the residence is reserved only for Afrikaans speakers:

“Just like me, many students in this residence come from rural areas in south Africa. We only come here because of the bursary that pays for us or some come because of they are good at sports and the university gets them from their high school. We get put in the residence and then we are told to make friends, but it is hard because we sometime not so sure about ourselves because we don’t have a lot of money and we don’t speak English good enough. It was hard for me to make friends with people that have more money, speak good English and speak Afrikaans” (S3).

What is particularly interesting in the response is how the student differentiates between “us” and “them”. The student identifies that for some students in Helshoogte, making friends is not a simple task because of socio-economic challenges. This response also highlights social issues some students encounter upon entering the space because they have weak English and no Afrikaans in their repertoire. The student's reference to “us” and “them” I suggest, explains that there are factors beyond language that influences student's ability to make friends in residence. The response therefore shows that some students in Helshoogte cannot identify with the value system that aims to uphold brotherhood.

Each floor in Helshoogte is divided into sections and in each section are communal areas where students can get together to socialise. I observed that these spaces are important for increasing social contact among the students in Helshoogte. Each floor has their own identity. The reason for this is as I was told was so that each floor can compete against other floors in different activities and at the end of it all, prizes are awarded to each floor and different athlete for best performances. I asked whether creating competition between students in the residence does not cause friction between students and the response suggested that

“competition between the floors is in a way good for us. The thing is you have students who come from different places and by creating inter-floor activities, you pull people who would otherwise not have anything to do with each other together. Even if someone is not competing, they are there to support the people from their floor. It is quite cool because regardless of what happens, you see all students regardless of their race or what language they speak, black white coloured, it doesn't matter they support their floor. I think that the identity of each floor is better for us than the identity of the whole residence because with residence it is difficult to get everyone to participate in the events because there are many boys in the res and also because with inter-residence competition, there are strict university rules, some the boys don't feel comfortable because they feel like their behaviour is being controlled” (S1).

The identity of each floor is apparently important because it seemingly gives students in Helshoogte the opportunity to be part of an identity that is not necessarily that of the residence. Collectively, the identities of each floor contribute to the overall identity of Helshoogte. Thus, the identity of each floor in a way, creates a channel through which students in the residence can be part of the broader Identity of Helshoogte identity.

Students identify with their floor's identity because of the level of comfort that they feel. Language for this participant did not seem to hinder participation and interaction in inter-floor competition. Consequently, this response indicates that students on each floor seemed to not care about each other's socio-demographic difference, rather they prefer to channel their energy into support for their fellow floor dweller participating in an event. Their identity was unified based on the floor they supported. The inter-floor competition did not create a barrier to socialisation, rather it created a platform where students could socialise.

Moreover, since students on the floors come from different backgrounds, it is possible that some students might feel comfortable with certain experiences. This was pointed out in an interview with I4 when he told me about "hoenderdag" and when asked what that meant, he responded by saying the

"hoenderdag is an event held once a year in February when we have a massive party and invite basically the whole campus to join and then each floor has their own stall where they sell things and raise money for their floor so that they can use that to do events and all that..[however] not everyone attends hoenderdag because its drinking the whole day so it's not for everyone but I think that people who are keen on each floor pull through and make their stall the best so they can win points for their floors" (S4).

Compared to the response of S1, S4 indicates that feeling part of the floor identity depends on the student and the type of events that is promoted by the floor or residence. For some students, the feeling of belonging to Helshoogte goes beyond just supporting their floor. For them it meant also supporting the Helshoogte "when they play other residences" (S3) in various sports. Sports especially rugby, seemed a big part of the residence. The issue it seemed was that rugby was apparently dominated by white Afrikaans students.

4.3.3 Sport as a minority code

The identity of a residence is influenced by sports, symbols, what songs they sing, how they conduct their meeting and which activities they take part in. In Stellenbosch Sport is a big part of the institutional culture at Stellenbosch University. The influence of sports especially rugby, is prominent in many male residences at Stellenbosch campus. Every year in Stellenbosch, male residences compete in the "koshuis rugby toernooi"- residence rugby tournament. The winners of the tournament, pride themselves as the best rugby residence until the following year when the tournament is held again.

Sport is a platform for social contact which gives students the opportunity to be part of the residence identity. Sports unites students under the banner of their residences to achieve a common objective which is to defeat their opponents. For many students in Helshoogte, their sense of belonging and means of making friends is through participating in sports like rugby “ [and] yes I enjoy playing rugby because the rugby guys are cool...well some of them and in the res if you play rugby, you are part of the cool people for example I get along with everyone because I play rugby but the problem I have is that I don’t know if I would have the same friends especially the rugby guys (S2). In the interviews sport was stressed as one of the most important avenues of making friends, bonding and socially integrating in the residence.

The dominant sport in Helshoogte “is definitely rugby but there are other sports too like soccer, hockey, squash even boxing” (S6). As rugby is the biggest sports in Helshoogte, it is possible that the participation percentage is higher for rugby than other sports. The issues I was alerted to was that rugby was sometimes exclusionary because “the code, game play just general rugby lingo like kom manne [come on boys], or during the scrum we shout een twee drie [one two three]...I think that it will be very difficult if you don’t understand the codes” (S2).

Sport as a culture and part of residence life is influenced by traditions which are reinvented in different ways that exclude some students in Helshoogte. For example, one might feel excluded if the language used to advertise an event is not in their repertoire. In Helshoogte’s residential space, S2 feels excluded because Afrikaans is used to advertise events

“I don’t really attend a lot of the events because the way they advertise the events doesn’t seem like they want me to come. Flyers and put on the wall in residence but most times it is in Afrikaans. You must understand that this residence like many other residences in Stellenbosch man and woman res were founded by white Afrikaans people, so a lot of the tradition and activities have influences from Afrikaans culture. Example is rugby, almost all the rugby players are Afrikaans and white” (S2).

Sports, as it was put to me, is an important part of residence life because it is one of the major avenues students in residence utilise to socialise and network and bond with their peers. In many cases, sports in residences is used as a marker for distinguishing cultures. As I discovered in the interview, rugby is the dominant sport in Helshoogte and apparently “almost all the rugby players are white Afrikaans speaking” (S2). The perception that rugby is reserved for white Afrikaans speakers is due to the perceived influences of white Afrikaans culture in the residence. The reinvented ways of excluding students might therefore be embedded in the

history of sports at Stellenbosch University at a time when sports at SU residences were divided based on race and gender.

4.4. Language and repertoire in Helshoogte

The language policy extensively engages with language in formal settings including corporate spaces, public platforms and classrooms. Yet, in the policy, the use of language in social spaces is not explicitly engaged and discussed. A reason for this maybe because interactions in social spaces are complex and context based thus it is difficult to predict the outcomes of these interactions. Hence, it will be of difficult to develop and implement determine a language policy that will be used in social spaces.

There are many black students in Stellenbosch University residences who feel the structures and culture of SU is designed to cater specifically for white Afrikaans speaking students. Their anxieties come from their experiences in residences where traditions and practices in the residences has contributed negatively to their experience and feeling of exclusion. The extract from an interview below, highlights the feeling of marginalisation many black students in Stellenbosch University experience.

“I am going into my final year next year in this institution, and I still do not feel like I belong in this space. Even outside the res, I am specifically referring to just walking around campus and seeing how many Afrikaans speaking white people distant themselves from people of colour especially black people. I am talking also about how many buildings are in Afrikaans names that I can’t even pronounce. Even in my residence, it feels like they are forced to socialise with other students because they share the same space but once we come out of res, they act as if they do not know you” (S5).

In the interview, I asked the participant to elaborate on who “them” is, and he said “the umlungu”. I had come across this word before, but it was not used in a positive context and I did not know what it meant. When asked to explain the meaning of “umlungu”. He said that it is a term some black people sometimes used to describe white people. The term does not have a positive connotation to it and when asked as to why he would use the term to describe white people, S5 noted that “the term is used from a place of anger because of the white people have done to us in the past, because of them I am not able to feel comfortable in this university even though I am paying the same fees as them, I am made to feel like an outsider which is not fair”.

I could not help but feel and understand S5's experience. I too am a black student who has had experiences that did not make me feel welcomed. Nonetheless his response seems to, in a way, neglect the political and social influences that may have caused inequality in the in the past. My observation of Afrikaans speaking individuals who perhaps do not want to engage with me because I am black even though I speak Afrikaans, pushed me towards socialising more with white English-speaking students. I do not wish to insinuate that white Afrikaans speakers are racist, rather my observation suggests that some white Afrikaans speaking individuals may feel anxious socialising with people from different ethnicity. My experience was also informed by an incident that happened on the Rooiplein⁷. During the second semester exam period in 2018, I was with a group of English-speaking friends on the Rooiplein when we were approached by a white male. He proceeded to ask us a question in Afrikaans, but my friends were quick in responding by saying "we don't speak Afrikaans". In that moment, I realised that some English speakers also do not necessarily want to engage in Afrikaans with students speaking Afrikaans to them. Once the Afrikaans speaking individual had left, I told my friends that I understood the question which was "hoe laat maak die bib toe?" meaning "when does the library close?" I realised that some Afrikaans speaking individuals feel comfortable approaching people who they perceive as white because they assume that they might be Afrikaans. In this incident it was clear that individual who was looking for information about when the library closes, approached my friends first and once he realised that my white friends were not able to speak Afrikaans back to him, he became disinterested and left.

This chapter provided insights to student's experiences of living in Helshoogte. Their experiences shed light on issues such as sport that are maybe take for granted in discourses about transformation. The narrative in this chapter suggests that SU, should engage more with students in residences because they come from different backgrounds and use their experiences and construction of university life to inform transformation. Language in a social space is very important for navigating that social space. It grants you audience with people and in a way, you feel dignified when you can relate with someone who has a common language as you. This is highlighted by Ng and Deng (2017: 1), when stating that an individual's ability to speak a language puts them in a position of power and through this, they use their language as a weapon to influence and dominate others who do not speak their language. Furthermore, they argue that language serves as a social function that forms people's identity and this identity is used in social interactions, which favours groups of language users over others (Ng & Deng, 2017: 1).

⁷ Rooiplein translated to English means "red square" Is an area on Stellenbosch University campus paved with red bricks. This is a place where a lot of social interactions among students supposedly occurs.

To this end, language is a powerful tool in the hands of those who have mastery of a language since they use it to create and influence people in interactions.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

In the early years of post-1994 democratic South Africa, the need to transform higher education to be more representative of the South African student population, required universities to align their policies to the transformation agenda of the newly elected democratic government. Discourses on transformation spread throughout higher education and particularly in HAUs where transformation was lacking the most. Although some HAUs welcomed the idea, other HAUs including Stellenbosch University were initially resistant to the idea of changing the structures created to privilege white students.

Over the years, the number of black students increased but integration of these students into the existing system was difficult. Stellenbosch University apparently maintained efforts to address issues of inequality and exclusivity by developing language and residence placement policies. The latest policy that establishes English as the dominant priority language at Stellenbosch University was welcomed by several collectives who assumed English to be beneficial in learning and teaching. Yet, several communities including Afrikaans lobbyists who advocate for retaining Afrikaans at SU, argue that students who have a weak competence in English in their repertoire at a disadvantage. The primary focus on language at Stellenbosch University had been in the domains of teaching and learning. There is currently not a lot of discussion on language in residential spaces. Even so, residences contribute immensely to student's overall success at Stellenbosch University.

The Soudien Report provided a lens for discussing social cohesion in residences. The events leading to the creation of the report indicated that HAUs needed to critically investigate transformation at their institutions and particularly in residences where students from different language, racial and cultural backgrounds live. Residences are part of the structures that white students use to sustain institutional culture.

Focusing on Stellenbosch University, this research used the opportunity to engage students in Helshoogte residence at Stellenbosch University. With reference to critical race theory which advocates for black voices, this research was purposive in its sampling methods by focusing predominantly on black students in the residence. As a Nigerian black male, I wanted to learn about their experiences of belonging to Helshoogte which forms part of the inner circle of the Stellenbosch University's residence system. Beyond the classroom, residences are important

social spaces where many students at Stellenbosch university spend most of their time. Therefore, to build on ideas of transforming the institutional culture to be inclusive of all students, I argue for critical discourses, which engage with back students' voices lived experience in residences

5.2 Language and the residence placement policies

Albeit gradually, Stellenbosch University language policies have significantly transformed since 2002 to 2016. The National higher education language policy made it compulsory for universities to design a language framework and this resulted in the 2002 language policy at Stellenbosch. At Stellenbosch University, Afrikaans was the default language at the undergraduate level and lecturers needed to motivate teaching bilingually or in English. For various supporters of retaining Afrikaans at SU, the idea that Afrikaans was the “default” language raised concerns about the future of Afrikaans in the institution. Their concerns on the status of Afrikaans at SU stimulated critical discussions on the purpose of language policies and practices. On the other hand, Stellenbosch University had to take into consideration that the student demographic was changing to include black students who did not have Afrikaans as language in their repertoire.

The increase in the number of black students encouraged SU to take necessary steps in ensuring that the environment was not exclusive to specific race and language categories. The language policies have been the primary focus of the transformation debate. Between 2002 and 2016, there was a gradual recognition of the need to make Stellenbosch more accessible to black students, particularly with a general focus on coloured. There was a sensitivity at Stellenbosch University to make sure that language was not a barrier for learning but at the same time, try and maintain the status of Afrikaans as a main medium of instruction and the main medium of culture. This dilemma was at the heart of the taaldebat. In the 2014 policy, Afrikaans and English were accredited equal status. Stellenbosch university introduced real time interpreting services and parallel medium classes in English and Afrikaans. The problem that developed was that it became apparent that the language specification was too costly to maintain within a national context in which higher education was in crisis because of the decline of university subsidies and the growing sensitivity of black students at historically white universities particularly.

The real time interpreting services were used simultaneously in lectures to translate for student who did not understand what was said. Stellenbosch University provided devices for the real

time interpreting service, but the concerns of student's majority of whom are black, did not feel comfortable using the devices and often, the interpreter missed out or did not know the academic terms in the interpreted language. The discomfort expressed by black students that Stellenbosch University was not making rapid efforts to address inclusivity resulted in a protest in 2015. The student collective Open Stellenbosch were at the fore of the protest. The influences of Open Stellenbosch came from other student movement including #Rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall that raised issues of exclusion and marginalisation of black students at other universities across South Africa.

These external dynamics were national drivers of change in higher education and at SU it led to protest that disrupted activities including classes and examinations. In 2016 a new language policy emerged. The policy I suggest was due to the protest in the previously year. Stellenbosch University came under immense pressure; on the one hand there was a perceived need to take into consideration the concerns of the Afrikaans lobbyists who wanted Afrikaans as the dominant language. On the other hand, SU had to ensure that the demands of students were met within a national context of university resource and policy crisis.

At Stellenbosch University, residences are crucial structural component of institutional culture. Initially students of colour were not allowed to live in the same residences as white students. When the first black or "non-white" residences at Stellenbosch University was established, there were concerns that the introduction of black people would change the structures that existed. After 1994 democratic transition, when Universities were compelled to transform, Stellenbosch University evaluated their policies and structures to address issues of exclusion and inequality. Stellenbosch University's diversity profile increased, as black students enrolled and applied for accommodation were placed in residences.

The residence placement policy was used by the university as a guide to introduce transformation and diversity in residential spaces. The changes made it possible for white culture, traditions and other practices in residences on main campus at Stellenbosch university to be critiqued. The problem with introducing black students in spaces where they were previously excluded from is that they need to adapt to the pre-existing structures.

As part of the residence placement policy, Stellenbosch university aimed to allocate and place students in such a way that it would contribute positively to the formation of sound, diverse communities which would then contribute to optimal growth and development of out-of-class contexts which residences are part of. It is difficult to suddenly change institutional cultures,

embedded in systems that excluded, marginalised and oppressed individuals it was therefore necessary to examine students experiences in one of these residential contexts.

The language and residence placement policies have tended to focus on transformation and diversity in terms of quantifiable units, but these policies do not address students' experiences. I therefore focused on language in out-of-classroom experience and in this research I have explored language as an aspect of transformation at the residence level.

5.3 Exploring experiences beyond the classroom: Helshoogte men's residence and the Stellenbosch University residence system

It is important to address issues of transformation in classes to ensure that students can learn in a language they understand. On the other hand, it is important to address residence spaces since they also contribute to the transformation at SU. After reflecting on the responses of the students who are predominantly black students, I developed an understanding on their experiences on transformation at Helshoogte-a previously white Afrikaans residence. Helshoogte shares many cultural aspects with other residences across the Stellenbosch University main campus. For one, Helshoogte was established during apartheid and has its roots in Afrikaner Nationalism. Traditions, norms and practices were created and maintained by white students to serve their needs.

According to Stellenbosch University, the increase in the number of "non-white" (apartheid category) students enrolled indicates transformation and diversity. I argue that transformation and diversity should not simply be presented as statistical changes because that presents a narrative that excludes the experience of students and especially black students. Furthermore, the number students who have Afrikaans as their home language decreased significantly between the period of 2009 to 2018 (Table 1). During this period the number of students who have English as their home language increased. The decrease in students who have Afrikaans as their home language and the increase in students who have English as either first or second language in their repertoire showed that Stellenbosch university was taking gradual steps towards transformation at the institution. The gradual changes at SU including establishing English as a dominant preferred language, do not obviously change the way language is used at residence level. However, the culture at residences has tended to maintain Afrikaans at Stellenbosch University.

Every residence at Stellenbosch University has a unique identity which is shaped by the values, norms, traditions and practices of that residence. As the first residences at Stellenbosch

University, Wilgenhof and Harmonie created a culture which formed the blueprint for subsequent residences that followed. At the time when these residences were established, the number of students at Stellenbosch university continued to grow. The inclusion of black students in historically white residences assumes that the students will get along with each other. This takes for granted complex social issues that form part of the lives and backgrounds of the students. Coming from dissimilar backgrounds, the attitude and beliefs of students differ which influence their actions in certain situations. One of the reasons that makes social cohesion for students from different backgrounds difficult is how quickly students have to adjust to their new environment. However, with bilingual English and Afrikaans in their repertoire, white students adjust to the environment quicker than black students.

Challenging institutional cultures and practices allows for a critical examination of activities that form and maintain inequality. At Stellenbosch University, language was one of the main influencers of inequality. Language at Stellenbosch University is contested which is largely due to the history of the establishment and its involvement in apartheid. The influences of apartheid in SU cannot be denied or ignored because many issues and concerns of marginalisation are influences from when Stellenbosch was an Afrikaans-only University.

At the residence level, language is used differently in meetings and social spaces. Afrikaans and English together with the status of being white are contributing factors to the inequality that persists at Stellenbosch residences. Black students have other language abilities and often weak competence in English. Consequently, while the language policy asserts that English is the priority language in the classroom, black students are still disadvantaged. Since there is no official framework on how to use languages in residences, there are structural patterns that persist and maintain a language market in residences where English and Afrikaans are the dominant forms of cultural capital.

In Helshoogte, it was noted that in official residence meetings, some HKs who have English and Afrikaans in their repertoire often use English so that students who do not have Afrikaans in their repertoire are included in discussions. S1 noted that when he arrived at the residence, he did not feel welcomed because when they had their house meeting, the leaders spoke Afrikaans for majority of the meeting and students like him who had weak Afrikaans in their repertoire, had to ask someone to translate what was being said. He did however mention that there were a few HKs who spoke English and tried to enforce the culture of using English to conduct house meetings. Having only a few use English to conduct meetings is not enough to claim transformation.

Transforming residential spaces needs to go beyond policy changes. Black and white students need to be critically engaged to understand the factors that maintain exclusivity and marginalisation and find ways to address these issues. There needs to be more deep meaningful contact between white students and black students that goes beyond artificial social contact. As outsiders within an institutionalised Afrikaans and English culture at Stellenbosch, it is necessary that black students are given the opportunity to voice their concerns and experiences of living in residences that were initially designed for white students.

Stellenbosch University is an elite institution that attracts top students from different schools in South Africa. Students who do not achieve the required marks do not get accepted into Stellenbosch University. There are many factors including demographic, socio-economic background and merit that are considered when a student applies for residence placement. The factors mentioned above are systems used by the university that supposedly introduces diversity in residences. This suggests that for the university, diversity is understood as placing people who come from different backgrounds together. The issue with this is that students are not equal and also, they have different beliefs and culture that shape their identity. Diversity therefore does not equate to social cohesion.

In addition, given the unequal history of South Africa, education is an area where the issue of class can be observed. Not all schools in South Africa have the same resources. Students attending former Model C schools have an advantage over student who attend schools in rural areas where there is little to no investment in the infrastructure. The high marks required to get into Stellenbosch University makes it difficult for students who attend less privilege schools to compete at the same academic levels with other students. The fact that students enrolling at Stellenbosch University require English in their repertoire, to some might suggest that Stellenbosch is inclusive and welcoming. However, many black students coming from poor schools do not have a strong English in their repertoire. They have just the right amount of English in their repertoire to attend classes and understand the lecture so that they can pass the examinations. Outside of the classroom, students who are not strong English speakers do not use English in their social interactions.

Sport is a big part of the residence culture in Helshoogte. In Helshoogte students that were interviewed, identified that they enjoyed sport for its recreational purpose because it was a great platform to socialise and bond with other students. Sport helped alleviate stress from their academics. Rugby is the dominant sport which I linked to the broader Stellenbosch University environment, where rugby is also the dominant sport. There is a sense of pride linked to playing sport for the residence which can be toxic. These students are seen as the “alpha males” because

of the fame that comes with playing rugby. It's almost as if they are worshipped. In Helshoogte rugby becomes a double-edged sword because on the one hand, students want to take part in rugby and represent their residences. On the other hand, they feel excluded because in many cases, they do not understand the codes which are presented in Afrikaans. Rugby was observed as a sport for white Afrikaans students because of the culture and tradition linked to the sport. Given the reach of sport at Stellenbosch University, I propose that sport should be used as an aspect of transforming Stellenbosch University.

In spaces outside residences where students socialise, groups are formed according to their identity and connection to other members of the group. Around campus at Stellenbosch University, what one observes is that the majority of social friendship groups consist of same-race individuals. Students migrate to what they find familiar and this makes them feel comfortable. At Stellenbosch University, language and race are factors that divide students. Black students do not necessarily form intimate friendship groups with white students because for them it is difficult for a white person to feel and understand their struggles as black students. Also, black students often form their own groups because they can speak their home language with others who speak and understand them. The same can be said for some white students who do not make the effort to engage socially with students who are from a different ethnicity, language and cultural background.

5.4 Concluding remarks

Stellenbosch University is transforming and diversifying when looking at these concepts as quantifiable units. The percentage of black students is increasing. The percentage of students who have Afrikaans as their home language is decreasing but this is not enough to claim transformation because there are institutional cultures that marginalise and exclude black students.

In the language and residence placement policies, SU views diversity as an increase in the number of black students, which takes attention away from those students' experiences at SU. Furthermore, increasing the number of black students in residences may look good for SU in terms of the diversity profile statistics that are made available to the public, nonetheless, when diversity at SU is examined, it becomes apparent that many black students that are used as markers of diversity do not feel that SU has transformed. Rather they feel that discrimination, exclusion and other oppressive practices are reinvented and imposed through innovative ways-

which leads to questions such as “what is diversity?” “How should diversity be measured?” and “How should students’ experiences inform diversity?”

Many black students in residences are disadvantaged and come from racially segregated and poor areas where they have had limited contact with white individuals. Coming from an underprivileged and racially segregated background puts that student in a disadvantage position because of the lack of exposure to resources, such as English and Afrikaans as university-level cultural capital. In the context of Stellenbosch, English and Afrikaans constitute dominant forms of cultural capital. Thus, students with weak English or no Afrikaans in their repertoire find it difficult to take part in the Stellenbosch academic market. For some English and Afrikaans speaking white students, the pressure to change and unlearn certain beliefs that may have been passed on from previous generation is ever more present in the contemporary SU environment.

The cultures established by previous generations and passed on through stories of brotherhood and sisterhood should be examined and unlearned. For some white English and Afrikaans students who benefit from the culture in residences, it becomes a burden because on the one hand they do not want to disappoint their parents who have told them stories about those spaces and ways to use the spaces. On the other hand, they need to examine and abandon practices and traditions that marginalise other students. Transformation requires conscious efforts to change the culture that is embedded in the system of discrimination, exclusion and inequality. Stellenbosch University has come a long way in transforming its institutions, however, more work needs to be done to ensure that no student is left behind. Therefore, in the effort to transform, the need to engage social spaces beyond the classroom and residences is ever more present.

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